

THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

Λ
IN FIVE BOOKS.

Translated from the GREEK

By Mr. HAMPTON.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. HUGHES,

For R. and J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.

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P R E F A C E.

AMONG all the Historians of antiquity, whose works have been judged worthy of the admiration or regard of later times, there is none perhaps so little known, as the Author who is now offered to the publick. The words, grave, judicious, excellent, are indeed transmitted from pen to pen, and fill the mouth of every critick. But though the name of POLYBIUS be thus still accompanied with some mark of respect and honour, his real character has remained almost unnoticed; and his writings, even though confessed to be the object of esteem and praise, by degrees have fallen under that kind of neglect and general disregard, which usually forerun oblivion.

It may be useful therefore to consider some of the chief among the causes, that have concurred to produce so perverse an accident, before we attempt to lead the reader into a closer view of those many excellencies that are peculiar to the following History, and which drew towards it the attention and respect of all the wise and learned, in the enlightened times of Greece and Rome.

Amidst all the advantages, which the moderns are by many supposed to have gained against the ancients, with respect to the points of useful knowledge, and the enlargement of all true and solid science, it cannot but be allowed, that, in the Art of Writing, the latter still maintain their rank unrivalled; and that the graces and the charms, the exactness, strength,

and energy, which make severally the character of their most perfect compositions, are in vain sought for in the productions of the present age. Those therefore that take into their hands the remains of any celebrated name either of Greece or Rome, are in the first place accustomed to expect, if not a faultless work, yet some display at least of that superiority, which the warmest emulation has not yet been able to exceed; some beamings of those excellencies, which strike and captivate the mind, and render irresistible the words of wisdom, when delivered from the lips of beauty. It is not therefore judged sufficient, that the matter be grave and weighty; unless the manner also be enchanting. In vain are things disposed in order, and words made expressive of the sense. We demand likewise an arrangement, that may please the fancy; and a harmony, that may fill the ear. Or on the other hand, if the style be such as rejects the embellishments of art, yet let us find in it at least that full and close conciseness, that commanding dignity, that smooth and pure simplicity, in a word, those naked graces, which outshine all ornament.

Such are the expectations of every reader, who has gained a taste sufficient to discern, that these beauties are in fact diffused through all the finished pieces of antiquity. For though, even among the ancients, there were as many different styles as authors, yet nature, and sound criticism which drew it's rules from nature, referred them all to two or three general kinds, of which each had it's established laws; which, while they served to instruct the writer in his art, afforded likewise a sure criterion, by which his works were either censured or approved. Was it the purpose of an Author, to recite past events, or convey lessons of instruction, in a language simple and unadorned? It was demanded by these laws, that his style should be concise and pure: that the sentiment and diction should be closely joined; and no word admitted, that did not add somewhat to the sense: that through the whole

whole should be found a certain air of ease and freedom, mixed however with strength and dignity; and that, void of all appearance of study and of art, he should strive to make even negligence itself alluring. If, on the contrary, his desire was to excell in the florid kind, the same laws required, that the simple charms of nature should be adorned with all the elegance and pomp of art: that splendid images should flatter and delude the fancy: that the diction should be noble, polite, and brilliant: that every word should be dressed in smiles: and that the periods should be measured with the nicest care; be joined together in the softest bands of harmony; and flow intermingled, without obstacle or pause. Lastly, with respect to that likewise which was called the intermediate kind of composition, these laws were careful also to prescribe the proper temperament, in which the beauties of the former two should meet and be united: and to adjust the mixture of the graceful and austere, the artificial and the simple, in such exact proportion, that the one never should prevail against the other, but both govern through the whole with a kind of mingled sway.

Now with regard to the Author of the following work, it must freely be acknowledged, that, instead of having gained any approved degree of excellence in either of these established modes of composition, he on the contrary revolts alike against the laws of all. Instead of charms that might allure, an energy that might command, or flowing softness that might carry with it the attention of the reader, we meet at every step some deformity which excites disgust, some coldness which offends, some obstacles which expose our patience to the severest proof. Instead of elegant simplicity, we find in every part a rustick coarseness: instead of a neat and clear conciseness, a redundance of impure expression: instead of an assemblage of kindred images, allusions remote and forced: and

and in the place of a full, majestick, and continued harmony, sounds that fatigue and wound the ear, periods broken and transversed. It cannot therefore be greatly wondered at, that many, even among the warm admirers of antiquity, should have been discouraged from perusing writings, which are void of all the charms of nature and art; which display neither elegance nor strength; neither ease nor dignity; simplicity nor majesty; but are in every part disfigured, either by tasteless and ill-sorted ornaments, or a negligence that is wholly destitute of grace.

But besides the utter want of all those beauties, that reign through the compositions of the other celebrated ancients, there is also in POLYBIUS one eminent vice, which must be allowed to have been not less the cause, than that now mentioned, of the almost general disregard to which his works have been condemned. This is the Obscurity, which is found as we may say in every page, through all the following History. For it is not that obscurity, which springs solely from those ancient manners, customs, science, discipline, which, though they were familiar to the times in which the author wrote, are unknown to the present age. Nor is it that only on the other hand, which is caused by the ravages of years; that, which never fails to attend a mangled or corrupted text. But it is such, as may well be termed a congenial and inbred obscurity: an obscurity, which results from complicated and embarrassed sense; from periods disordered and transposed; from useless expletives; and from words, which are either destitute of any signification, or employed in one so different from their own, that even those, who are most conversant in the language, are oftentimes intangled in a maze of doubt and intricacy, from which, after all their efforts, they are never able to get free.

Some other causes, of lighter moment, might be mentioned,

tioned, as having in part contributed to produce the effect of which we are speaking *. But these are the principal, and most

* Among these, we may just take notice of an opinion which has prevailed with many, that the following History, with respect both to the matter which it contains, and the manner also in which the work is executed, tends principally to promote the improvement of that knowledge which relates to war, and cannot even easily be understood, but by those only who have passed their life in camps. This prejudice, if it drew not it's beginning, seems however to have been chiefly propagated, from the pains of a lively Frenchman, who some years ago presented the Author to the publick in all the pomp of military dress; and, under the weight of an enlarged and bulky Comment, in which the sentiment now mentioned is every where industriously repeated and enforced, stifled the merit of a judicious and sensible Translation. But his profession, it seems, was that of arms: and most admirably does self-love perform it's part. For being first persuaded, that, among all the objects of human knowledge and inquiry, there was none more noble or important, than the Art in which himself was skilled, he boldly mistakes, for the characteristical distinction in the Original, that which was only an incidental excellence; and from thence forms, as he expresses it, the grand design of raising, upon those materials that were before him, a complete military structure: as if the purpose of this great Historian had been simply to compose a body of Tactics, or a treatise on the Stratagems of War; and not rather to illustrate and explain the most sublime of all the subjects of Civil science, which the annals of mankind can boast; to shew, "from what causes, and through what kind of government, almost the whole habitable world, in less than the course of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke." But indeed the whole weakness and absurdity of this conceit will appear so manifest from the very first pages of the History, that it is not necessary to employ in this place any greater pains to expose it. I shall therefore only add, with respect to the opinion abovementioned, that first, it is by no means in general true, as the favourers of this opinion are ever ready to affirm, that the descriptions of sieges and of battles, as they occur in ancient authors, cannot easily be understood, but by those only who have passed their life in camps. If indeed the business, that is here required, were to weigh the difficulties, and to decide concerning the expediency or the rashness, of any military enterprize; to applaud, or to condemn, the disposition of an army in the field; to display the prudence, or detect the errors, of a General; this would doubtless be a province, which every man of letters would most willingly resign, to those whose studies and experience had qualified them in a more peculiar manner to be judges in it. But when the task, as in reading or translating, is simply to apprehend the meaning of the terms in any ancient and dead language, it is clear that this can be only done, and that in most cases it has been done effectually, by surveying the analogy of the language, examining well the context, and tracing all the various significations, in which the same terms are used by different writers. Secondly, these descriptions, as they are more full and perfect, are more perspicuous also in POLYBIUS, than those that are found in other writers. For as he had been himself employed in the exercise of arms, and had joined,

most important. And indeed to say the truth, how reasonable must it be thought, that such an Author should at once be abandoned to oblivion or contempt: unless perhaps there should be found, under this rough covering, some delicious kind of fruit; some excellencies, which may be esteemed a more than equal counterpoise to his defects. And this is that which we shall now consider.

In all the various history of that great people, whose power, from small and contemptible beginnings, was by degrees extended to the limits of the world, and whose virtue, policy, and laws, are still respected and approved, if there be any part more useful, more important, and more illustrious than the rest, it is, beyond all doubt, that very Period, which furnished the materials of the following work. A period, not weakened and deformed by senseless fictions, the offspring of wild vanity and impure tradition; but resting on the grounds of solid truth, and unsuspected testimony. A period, which displays this celebrated Empire, not struggling with the dangers and the ills of feeble infancy, nor tottering under the oppressive weight of age: but firm in manly strength, mature in vigour, active, ardent, uncontrouled, invincible. In the scene here presented to us, we are not, on the one hand, led

joined, to a consummate skill, a long experience likewise in the art of war, he from thence was able to relate all military events with clearness and precision; to assign to every term it's own proper place and peculiar sense; and to avoid that intricacy, in which the historians, who have transmitted to us an account of the Roman wars, are frequently intangled. In the last place we may remark, that the intention of the author in that very Comment, of which we have been speaking, was not, as is commonly supposed, to illustrate or remove the difficulties of the Original, but chiefly to accommodate to his own favourite System the battles which are there described; and to make, as himself declares, "POLYBIUS more subservient to the Comment, than the Comment to POLYBIUS." From hence therefore has it happened, as it might indeed most reasonably be expected, and as every candid and judicious reader will be ready to acknowledge, that, in the execution of this bold design, numberless passages are tortured, misunderstood, and misapplied; and that even the Prints, which are added in the work, are in many important points defective, and in many also repugnant to the plain expressions of the text.

to view the momentary wars, the precarious and unmeditated conquests, the intestine feuds and jealousies, the rage and madness, of a half-instructed, and half-policed people, rough and savage in their manners, virtuous to the extreme, and exulting in a licentious and ungovernable freedom. Nor is it, on the other hand, the sad picture of a State, corrupted and dispirited through the soft arts of luxury, disgraced by vices, and enslaved to tyrants. The annals of this Period offer a far nobler spectacle: a government, arrived at perfect growth, and flourishing in the fairest form: a steady, deep, extensive, and foreseeing policy: a people, joined together by great and generous sentiments, even more than by the ties of common interest: a sovereign power, exerted solely to maintain the general good: a liberty restrained by reason, and submissive to the authority of laws.

A State, thus framed, and thus conducted, could not long remain insensible of it's own inherent strength and force. From this time therefore, it seemed to be a matter of small moment and importance to the Romans, that they should be able effectually to employ their talents and their power, to maintain their empire in tranquillity and dignity, to afford security to their allies, and hold all the neighbouring States under due restraint. Seated as it were upon a strong and lofty eminence, they begin now to extend their views, even to countries the most remote; and resolve to bend the most haughty and most powerful kingdoms to their laws. The conquest of the world was judged to be an easy task, to a people, whose expectations of success were not founded upon their armies, however strong and numerous, nor even upon their military skill and discipline, however perfect and accomplished; but sprung solely from the exertion of a steady wisdom, and sedate discernment; from a foresight, which had weighed all difficulties; from regular designs, whose joint dependance was of itself sufficient to carry them into execution; from vigorous
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counsels, which disdained resistance; and from a firmness, which derided ill success, and rose superior to the heaviest strokes of fortune. Nor did the event in any point deceive their hopes. The most skilful, dexterous, and undaunted General, of all that the world had seen, in vain leads his army from the extreme boundaries of Spain, traverses the Pyreneans and the Alps, and falls, like thunder, upon Italy. Battle after battle lost, the bravest of the legions slain, the country wasted and destroyed, provinces revolting or subdued, in vain threaten the extinction of the name of Rome. The Romans, conscious still of their superior force, and standing firm against misfortune, are persuaded, that, unless themselves first lose all hope, their country never can be lost. Their wounds, though deep and bleeding, instead of draining from the members all their vital strength, serve only to call forth new streams of vigour from the heart. Their policy, their manners, the frame itself of the Republick, all join to afford resources inexhaustible, and which seem even to be multiplied by their defeats. Thus armed, and thus supported, what wonder was it, that in the end they should prevail against an enemy, whose very government itself, instead of being fortified with the like advantages, was such as baffled even the fortune and the skill of their own enterprising and triumphant General, and rendered useless all his victories. Annibal, enfeebled by success, exhausted by continual conquest, and in vain exerting his utmost efforts to subdue a people, who rose with redoubled strength from every fall, was at last forced to return, and employ all his courage and abilities, to rescue his own proper country from that destruction, with which he had so lately threatened Rome. But what courage, what abilities, could prolong the existence of an empire, destitute of all internal force, and which carried in it's bosom the immediate causes of decay and dissolution? The haughty Carthage, the tyrant of Spain and Afric, the sovereign mistress of commerce and the sea, bends her neck
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to the yoke : and from this time leaves full leisure to the Romans, to pursue, step by step, the traces of their first design ; to remove each obstacle, as they advanced ; to divide, unite, oppose, and counterbalance, the interests, and the strength, of the most formidable States, till they all became alike incapable of resisting, and were in turn compelled to feel and to acknowledge, that they had no laws left, no counsels, customs, manners, policy, but the sole will of this invincible and wise Republick. †

Such were the times, in which POLYBIUS lived ; and such the spectacle, which he chose to illustrate in his writings. A spectacle, transcending all that can be offered to our view, I do not say in the rude age of Rome, but in those admired and boasted annals likewise, which belong to the later periods of this great empire ; as much as disorder is excelled by union ; effeminate baseness, by heroick bravery ; corrupted manners, by disinterested virtue ; vile submission, by a generous and manly love of liberty ; or the little arts of jealous tyrants

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† It seemed unnecessary to enter here into any more circumstantial or particular detail of the design and limits of the History, or to enumerate singly all the events which it contained : not only because the Author himself has given a very distinct and clear account both of the general form and nature of his undertaking, and of the distribution and the order of it's several parts ; but because it has happened likewise, that of the whole original Work, which was extended to the number of forty Books, five only have been rescued from the hand of time. Yet these, as they are come to us intire, so are they perfect also with respect to the subjects of which they treat ; and will, if I mistake not, fully exemplify all that is affirmed, concerning the character, and peculiar talents, of the Author. Among the Fragments that remain, selected at various times, and by different persons, from the other parts of the History, there are some indeed of no inconsiderable length, and which are likewise so much more considerable in their value, that it was at first designed to have added them in this Translation. But when it was found, that the size of the Volume would be by that means doubled ; and was apprehended also, that, how curious soever or important these pieces might appear, many readers would be inclined to regard them still as Fragments, and reject perhaps, together with the broken parts, even those that are left intire ; it seemed most expedient to reserve them all for a separate Publication.

tyrants and ambitious ministers, temporary shifts, and expedients of a day, by that enlarged and powerful Policy, which looks forwards to all future time, embraces every object, and attracts within the circle of it's system every possible event.

As the Subject therefore is thus great and interesting, let us in the next place examine likewise, whether the Work itself be not distinguished also by some peculiar characters of excellence, that raise it above other Histories, and which serve clearly to illustrate and enforce the dignity and whole importance of the events of which it treats.

If we consider first, what kind of talents, genius, and abilities should be required, to display in the fullest light the wonders of so august a scene, and to point out distinctly, to the present and to future times, all the advantages that might be drawn from a period thus pregnant with instruction, it will at once be obvious to remark, that such a work must very far exceed the highest reach of any Rhetorician, however eloquent and learned, or any Sophist, however penetrating and acute; and could only be successfully performed, by one, whose knowledge of mankind, and long practice in the affairs of government, joined to an habitual and close attention to the designs, the workings, and effects, of policy, had enabled him to lift up the veil, and to view at leisure the secret springs, that actuated, and pushed forwards, all the great machine: by one, whose fortunes and condition had opened to him the means of being perfectly instructed and informed: by one, who had been himself a witness to the events which he relates, or had received his accounts at least from those that were: by one, whom credulity, or vanity, never could incline, to disgrace the truth by splendid miracles, and deform fact by fiction: and lastly, by one, whose natural love of virtue, and consciousness of the importance of the trust in which he had engaged, should force his own passions, humour, interest, to fall back and disappear, and substitute in their place

place an exactness, candour, and fidelity, superior to reproach or censure, and exempt from all suspicion.

Such must be the writer, to whose testimony we should yield a full assent, to whose authority we should submit, and whose wisdom we should blindly trust, to guide us, through the long labyrinth of causes and events, into a clear and comprehensive view of the motions, advancement, and whole progress, of the Roman greatness: and such, in every point, was that Historian, whose character we are here endeavouring to describe. Illustrious by his birth, and not less distinguished by the greatness of his sentiments, the wisdom of his counsels, his skill in war, his steady virtue, and sincere attachment to the interests of his country, he began to be considered, even in early age, as the chief support of that Republick, in whose firmness were deposited the small remains of Grecian liberty. As on the one hand therefore, his rank, and his abilities, with the important parts which he sustained in every publick measure and debate, disclosed to him all the various scenes of government; so the condition also of the times, and his earnest zeal for the general good, urged him on the other hand to call forth every talent into action; to survey with the nicest care the present and past fortunes of his country; to trace backwards every step, by which subjection had advanced towards them in the place of glory; and to review, to weigh, and to examine, the designs, effects, and influence, of that artful and ambitious policy, which, after having conquered or deluded so many different nations, had at last triumphed likewise over Greece, and, under the specious pretence of restoring every city to independency and freedom, had in reality infolded all alike in silken fetters, to be loosened, or strained close, as occasion should demand.

Such talents, such experience, and such researches, might doubtless have delayed, though not averted, the last fatal stroke, which not long afterwards completed the destruction
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of the Achæans, and of Greece. But the Romans, from whose attention the most distant danger never could escape, made haste to deprive a people, whom they had destined to be slaves, of the assistance and support of every citizen, whose courage, or abilities, seemed likely to spread wide a contagious spirit, and, together with the love of freedom, to inspire also by degrees a strength sufficient to shake off the yoke.

This banishment, which was decreed in common to all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus whose virtue was become their crime, as it was honourable to POLYBIUS, proved highly beneficial likewise to all future times. Torn by violence from the service of his country, and fixed to a long abode in that great City, which was the fountain of all the counsels that directed and sustained the Roman empire, he had now both leisure and the means, to draw together the instruction that was requisite, for carrying into execution the design which he had formed; to compare observation and conjecture with fact and certainty; to copy the detail of all great events from authentick monuments, and from the memoirs of those illustrious persons, who had been the chief actors in the scene; to view closely, and without disguise, the manners, temper, inclinations, and whole conduct of a people, who had thus forced the most powerful kingdoms to receive their laws; to inspect all the movements of that regulated wisdom, which had saved their State from imminent ruin; and to trace to their sources those internal springs of strength and vigour, which had nourished and enlarged it's growth: in a word, to compose that History, which, piercing through the clouds of ignorance and error, assigned to every incident it's own genuine motive; unfolded the most complicated causes; and, by joining to an exact and accurate description of wars, embassies, and treaties, a full and distinct display, of the counsels, maxims, laws, the prudence, constancy, and courage, with the whole military and domestick discipline, that were peculiar

peculiar to the Romans, made it manifest to all mankind, that the greatness, to which this people had now raised their empire, was by no means the work of fortune, or the effect of a bold and enterprizing rashness; but the necessary and mature result of strenuous efforts and regular designs, conducted by a firm and penetrating policy, which no precautions could elude, and no force was able to subdue.

In discharging a task of so great extent and difficulty, and of such vast importance likewise in it's use, it cannot surely be thought astonishing or strange, that this wise Historian should have been diverted, or withheld, from paying a due attention to the embellishments of art, and charms of eloquence. But whatever censure may be thrown upon him, for having slighted all those graces, which would doubtless have diffused some lustre through his work, it must be acknowledged on the other hand, that, together with them, he has rejected likewise all the false, though specious, ornaments, which disgrace the compositions even of the most esteemed and wisest ancients. The desire to strike and to surprize, to please and captivate, diversified perhaps according to the different talents of the writer, has in all times covered History with a delusive glare, which serves only to mislead us from that knowledge, which is the object of our search. Hence that unnatural mixture of record with tradition, truth with fable, and the long train of brilliant wonders, which are scattered through the annals of almost every age, and every people. Hence those discourses and harangues, which, having been forged and moulded in the shade of contemplative and obscure retirement, confound all distinctions, of men, characters, and times. Hence likewise all the laboured pageantry, the adventitious and far-sought circumstances, which are brought to swell description, and to adorn and dignify the scene: to fill the mind with admiration; to melt into compassion; or to subdue by terror. Hence lastly that ambitious care, which is discovered even in the
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the gravest writers ; who, not content with having copied the bare features of the original that was before them, like painters call forth all their skill, to give also a finishing to the piece ; and join, to the resemblance that is found in nature, those strokes, which enlarge and heighten each deformity, or spread a fuller brightness over every beauty. But to the Author, whose work we are now considering, it was reserved as his peculiar praise, to have first discerned, that History, if she would prove a secure and useful guide, must walk hand in hand with life : and that instruction, whether moral or political, was never to be fixed upon the weak foundation of imaginary facts. It is not therefore the Writer, whom we view before us, eager of applause, and impatient to draw from us an admiration of his art, in having decked the truth in a splendid dress, and thrown into her train a gay assemblage of well-fancied, possible, events. But it is the Statesman, the General, the Philosopher, who speaks to us, as in his closet, in familiar language ; recounts simply all that was transacted ; confirms fact by testimony ; and enables us to derive an easy and immediate profit likewise from the prudence or misconduct of past times, by reflections deep and solid, and such as our own reason cannot but approve, when they are gently enforced upon us, as by the authority of a parent, or urged with the fond affection of a friend.

How steadily indeed must we revere, and how willingly attend to, the lessons of a man, whose probity shines out in every part, even far more conspicuous than his wisdom. Blinded by no interest, nor seduced by any mistaken zeal, as he never is himself deceived, so neither does he attempt to lead others into error. Unmoved by the ill fate of Greece, and his own loss of friends and dignity, he describes even those events, which seldom fail to awaken some resentment, grief, or jealous hatred, with all the coldness of an unconcerned spectator ; and pays due homage, though unmixed with adulation, to those

those great qualities, which had raised the structure of the Roman glory upon the ruins of his own degenerate country. Hence it is that we discern, even upon the slightest view, a certain candour and sincerity spread through his work, which we in vain should hope to find in other writers: a candour, which never hides the faults of friends, nor tarnishes the virtues of an enemy: a candour, which presents all objects in their naked state, free from the disguise of passion; and which weighs contending testimonies in an equal scale: in a word, a candour, which, like an artless honesty of face, carries even in it's air and first appearance those strong proofs of genuine and unfeigned simplicity, which irresistably command our approbation, and engage our favour. Such was the Author, who, when living, was the friend, the companion, and instructor, of the generous and heroick Scipio; and whose writings, in a later age, were the earnest study, and chief consolation also, of the wise and virtuous Brutus.

It remains, that I now speak a word or two concerning the Translation: not to mislead the opinion, or prevent the judgement, of the reader; but simply to inform him, what it is that he is chiefly to expect from my own endeavours, in the following work.

There are two things, unconnected and distinct, which are demanded always of Translators: that they understand well the text, and render it also well. With regard to the first of these, in what degree I may have been exempt from errors, must be wholly left to others to determine. I can only say, that I have spared no pains, to arrive at a full and intire conception of the sense; by tracing the Author closely through his own peculiar turn and use of sentiments and language; by comparing different texts; consulting different versions; and by weighing all the explanations and corrections, that have occasionally been proposed.

But in a task of this kind, barely to understand the mean-
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ing of an author, though it often may require indeed both patience and activity, is by much the least part of the toil. To render every word by an equivalent expression, and every sentence in the same just measure; to preserve each different character of sentiment and phrase; and to delineate, stroke by stroke, the movements of the mind or heart; these are the difficulties in translating, that demand an attention, time, and pains, which never can be fully known, but by those alone who have made the trial. As these difficulties however are either slighter, or more hard to be surmounted, according to the several stamps of excellence, and the various modes of beauty, that are peculiar to the Originals, it must be acknowledged, that, in the work of the Author who is now before us, they are by no means such as should discourage any one from attempting to give a perfect copy of it in a different language. For there are here no beauties, whose spirit might be lost in being transfused: no force, or elegance, or just propriety, that demand an exact similitude of corresponding terms: no flowing, regulated, numbers, whose harmony can only be preserved by the same fixed accents and chosen sounds: no painting of the passions, in which even the smallest change would mar the likeness, and destroy all the beauty of the piece. But on the other hand, the very want of all these excellencies, while it freed me from a heavy and laborious duty, at the same time imposed a task upon me, not less difficult than the other: the task of veiling those deformities that might have raised disgust; and of clothing the Author, not in any ostentatious or splendid habit, but in a dress, which, though suitable in every part to his own deportment, air, and character, might be also such as should draw towards him the attention and the favour of the present age. With this view, I have not scrupled to endeavour through the whole, as well by changing sometimes the expression, as by breaking the order likewise of the sentences,

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to soften what appeared too harsh, and to give a modest polish to all that was found too rough. In a word, my chief care and pains, after the task of reporting faithfully the sense, have been employed to spread one simple, grave, and sober colouring over all the work: to render the diction strong, expressive, even, and correct: and to give to the periods a roundness, a stability, and varied cadence. If this part therefore of the labour should be judged to have been executed with success, it is hoped that any omissions, or mistakes, of lighter moment, may more readily obtain excuse.

I shall only add, that when I first engaged in this work many years ago, my intention was, to have joined with the translation such observations and remarks, as might have served not only to explain the difficulties, but to illustrate also and enforce the strong sense and wise reflections, that are spread through all the following History: to have cleared the obscurity, which arises oftentimes from remote allusions, or an imperfect detail of facts: to have opened those peculiarities of customs and of manners, which, whenever they occur, raise doubt and hesitation in the unlearned reader: to have pointed out the uses, or defects, of various institutions, in religion, laws, and government: and above all the rest, to have traced, step by step, the advancement of the Roman greatness; to have called back also to the scene the illustrious times of Greece, and compared the glory of that country with its last decline; and in a word, to have displayed in one intire and connected view, the whole conduct, and the various fortunes, of those great nations, whose Sages, and whose Heroes, seem to have soared above the ordinary limits of humanity; and whose story, while it instructs and warms, should teach us also to spurn away those narrow politicks, and that base depravity, which have fixed shackles upon our own contracted wisdom, and feeble virtue. Such was my design; the first draught of which was nearly finished, and materials collected in large abundance

abundance for the whole. But various accidents from time to time obstructed the progress of it: and I have now neither leisure, nor inclination, to complete it. Yet as I had gone through the most difficult and irksome, as well as the most useful part likewise of the whole performance, I was not willing intirely to suppress it. For I flatter myself, that the publick will owe me some acknowledgement, if this Translation should prove the means of spreading into many hands a treasure of inestimable value, which the roughness and inelegance, and numerous difficulties that occur, both in the language, and construction, and sense of the Original, have hitherto confined to a few. If this indeed should be the event, I neither shall regret the labour which the one part of the work has cost me, nor grieve for the disappointment in the other: but shall think my pains well rewarded, in having thus been able to bring into the open light a merit which had long languished in obscurity; and to substitute, in the place perhaps of studies either trifling or pernicious, the knowledge of an Author, whose writings, though broken and imperfect, not only contain the fullest lessons of civil prudence, but also every where abound with strong incitements to the practice of all those social virtues, which endear men to themselves, and render them useful citizens to their country.



THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

BOOK the First. CHAP. I.

IF those who have been employed before me, in relating the transactions of former times, had been altogether silent concerning the singular use and excellence of History, it might perhaps be necessary to begin this Work, with advising all mankind to apply themselves with earnestness to that kind of Study; since the knowledge of past events affords the best instructions for the regulation and good conduct of human life. But as the greater part, or rather all of them, have taken every occasion to declare, repeating it as we may say from one end of their writings to the other, that History supplies the only proper discipline, to train and exercise the minds of those who are inclined to enter into publick affairs; and that the evil accidents, which are there recorded to have befallen other men, contain the wisest and the most effectual lessons, for enabling us to support our own misfortunes with dignity and

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courage;

courage; there is surely little need to repeat again, what others have so often urged with eloquence and force. But indeed the Subject itself, which I am engaged to treat, may well exempt me from this task; since it is of a kind so new and singular, that it cannot fail to excite the attention of every reader. For what man is there, so fordid and insensible, that he would not wish to be informed, in what manner, and through what kind of government, almost the whole habitable world, in less than the course of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke: an event, of which there is no example in any former time. Or who on the other hand is so passionately fond of any other kind of speculation, or of any branch of science, as to think it more worthy of his care and pains, than this inquiry.

That the Subject of this work deserves a more than a common share of attention and regard, on account both of it's novelty and greatness, will most evidently appear, if we take a view of all the ancient states that are chiefly celebrated in history, and compare them with the Roman.

The Persians were for some time possessed of a very wide dominion: but whenever they laboured to extend it beyond the bounds of Asia, the attempt was always unsuccessful, and indeed proved almost fatal to them. The Lacedæmonians, after many struggles, obtained the sovereignty of Greece; but within twelve years, were again divested of it. The Macedonian kingdom was at first extended from the provinces that border on the Adriatic coast, as far as to the Danube; the whole including but a small and inconsiderable part of Europe. After some time indeed, they found means to break the Persian monarchy, and joined Asia to their empire. But though the general opinion of mankind may perhaps have taught us always to regard this people as a very flourishing and potent State, it cannot be denied, that a great part of the world was totally exempted from their sway. Affric, Sicily, and Sardinia, were
never

never visited by their arms. And those fierce and warlike nations, who possessed the western parts of Europe, were utterly unknown and undiscovered by them. But the Romans, disdaining to confine their conquests within the limits of a few countries only, have forced almost the whole habitable world to pay submission to their laws: and have raised their Empire to that vast height of power, which is so much the wonder of the present age, and which no future times can ever hope to exceed. And this is the Event, which I design to explain in all it's parts and circumstances in the following narration: and from thence it will be evident, what great advantages may be derived from an attentive and close perusal of Political History.

The point of Time, from whence I begin my Work, is the hundred-fortieth Olympiad. The transactions, are these which follow. In Greece, the Social war, conducted by Philip, the Son of Demetrius and Father of Perseus, in conjunction with the cities of Achaia, against the Ætolians. In Asia, the War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. In Italy and Afric, that between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is most frequently stiled the War of Annibal. These events are the next in order to those with which the history of Aratus is concluded.

Now before this Period, the great transactions of the world were single, distinct, and unconnected, both in place and time; while each proceeded from motives peculiar to itself, and was directed to it's own proper end. But from this time History assumes an intire and perfect body. The affairs of Italy and Afric were now conjoined with those of Asia and of Greece: and all moved together towards one fixed and single point. And this it was that first determined me to choose this æra for the beginning of my Work. For it was not till after they had broken the strength of Carthage in the war just mentioned, that the Romans, imagining that by

this success they had accomplished the chief and most important part of their intended enterprize, and opened to themselves the way to universal empire, now first resolved to enlarge their conquests, and spread their armies over Greece and Asia.

If mankind were already sufficiently acquainted with the condition and past fortunes of these Republicks, which contended thus together for the sovereignty of the world, there would perhaps be no occasion to have recourse to the former parts of their story, in order to explain the strength and number of their forces, or the probable hopes of success, by which they severally were excited to so great and difficult an undertaking. But because the Greeks are for the most part strangers to the ancient state, power, and exploits both of the Carthaginians and the Romans, I thought it necessary to prefix this Book, and that which follows, to the body of my history: to remove all doubts that might occur; and to exhibit clearly to the reader's view, the counsels, strength, resources, upon which the Romans supported those great designs, which rendered them the masters of the world both by land and sea. For from the recital which I design to make in these preliminary Books, it will be seen beyond all doubt, that this vast project was neither formed, nor carried into execution, but upon reasons the most fair and solid, and which gave strong assurances of success.

The circumstances of this great event, which so justly raise the admiration of the present age, will also afford one very eminent advantage to my Work, which will distinguish it from every other History. For as all the great transactions of the world were now forcibly attracted to one side, and compelled to move in one direction towards the same single end, I shall from thence be able to connect together, and dispose into one perfect body, the series of different events, and to exhibit in one point of view, the whole variety of action. It was this
indeed,

indeed, which gave me first the inclination to write the history of these times. Another motive was, that no one has hitherto composed a General History. For if this task had ever been before attempted, I should myself have been less solicitous to engage in such an undertaking. There are many indeed, who have written an account of particular wars: and among them, some perhaps have added a few coincident events. But no man, as far at least as I can learn, has ever yet employed his pains, in collecting all the great transactions of the world into one regular and consistent body; remarking also the time of their commencement, the motives to which they owed their birth, and the end to which they were directed. I therefore judged it to be a task that might prove highly useful to the world, to rescue from oblivion this great and most instructive act of Fortune. For in all the vast variety of disorders, struggles, changes, which the power of this deity introduces into human life, we shall find none equal to that long and desperate scene of contention, none worthy to be compared for their importance with those events which have happened in the present age. But this is what the writers of particular histories can never set before us in it's full and proper light. It might with equal reason be supposed, that by singly visiting all the noted cities of the world, or from a view of each delineated on paper, we should be able to acquire a right notion of the figure of the earth, with the due order and arrangement of all it's parts. But surely this must be thought a most absurd conceit. In a word, whoever is persuaded that the study of particular histories is alone sufficient to convey a perfect view and knowledge of the Whole, may very properly be compared with one, who on surveying the divided members of a body that was once endued with life and beauty, should persuade himself that he had from thence obtained a just conception of all the comeliness and active vigour which it had received from nature. But let these
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broken parts be again placed in order, restored to all their first activity and life, and be once more offered to his view ; he will then be ready to acknowledge, that all his former notions were as remote from truth, as the shadows of a dream are different from realities. For though some faint conception of the whole may perhaps arise from a careful examination of the parts, no distinct or perfect knowledge can ever be expected from it. In the same manner it must also be confessed, that particular Relations are by no means capable of yielding any clear or extensive view into General History : and that the only method, which can render this kind of study both entertaining and instructive, is that which draws together all the several events, and ranges them in their due place and order, distinguishing also their connection and their difference.

I shall begin this Book with the first expedition of the Romans out of Italy ; which is the next in order to those events, with which the History of Timæus is concluded, and which happened in the hundred-twenty-ninth Olympiad. I must therefore relate, at what time, in what manner, and on what occasion, this people, after they had firmly settled and secured their government at home, resolved to pass over into Sicily : for that was the first country, beyond the bounds of Italy, into which they sent their armies. I shall mention in the plainest and most simple manner, what it was that gave rise to this invasion : that the reader may not be forced to perplex his mind, with searching after the causes of that which was itself the genuine and immediate cause, and the very entrance to the work be from thence involved in insuperable darkness and uncertainty. And since it will be necessary to give an abstract also even of some events that passed before this period, I shall take care to choose some known and undisputed æra ; and to begin from facts, which are clear, precise, and well established. For when the beginning of a History is involved in any kind of intricacy or obscurity, the
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parts which follow can never obtain any great degree of credit or regard. But on the other hand, when the introduction to the subject is made intelligible and clear to all, the subsequent narration will easily gain admission and belief.

IN the year then, which was the nineteenth after the engagement near Ægospotamus, and the sixteenth before the battle of Leuctra; the year, when the Lacedæmonians confirmed the treaty which Antalcidas had made with the Persians; and the elder Dionysius, having some time before defeated the Greeks of Italy near the river Helleporus, laid siege to Rhegium; in this same year, the Gauls took Rome by storm, and remained masters of all the city, the Capitol alone excepted. But the Romans, having yielded to such conditions as the conquerors thought proper to impose, were once more restored, beyond all hope, to the possession of their country. From this time, being as it were again renewed in strength and vigour, they made war upon the states that were contiguous to their own. And having partly by their bravery, and partly with the aid of fortune, reduced all the Latins to their yoke, they next attacked the Tyrrhenians; after these, the Gauls; and then the Samnites; whose country lay contiguous to the territory of the Latins, and bounded it towards the north and east. Some time afterwards, the people of Tarentum, having treated an embassy from Rome with great indignity and insult, and being apprehensive that the Romans were preparing vengeance for the affront, invited Pyrrhus into Italy. This happened the year before the Gauls invaded Greece, and received that signal overthrow at Delphi, which drove them with the remains of their army into Asia. But the Romans, who had already reduced the Tyrrhenians and the Samnites to their yoke, and had returned with conquest from many engagements also with the Gauls, were now beginning to enlarge their views; and resolved to seize upon
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the rest of Italy, as if the whole country had belonged to them by a natural and proper right. Their former combats had completely trained and exercised them in the use of arms. They attacked the Tarentines with vigour; and persisted in the war with so much firmness, that they at last drove Pyrrhus out of Italy; and then turned their arms against the Cities, which had been confederated with that Prince against them. And having by a course of wonderful success forced all the inhabitants of Italy, except the Gauls, to receive their laws, they were now at leisure to march against a body of Roman soldiers, who had possessed themselves of Rhegium.

The two cities Messana and Rhegium, both situated upon the same straits, had both experienced the same misfortune. Not long before this time, a body of Campanian mercenaries, who had served in the armies of Agathocles, invited by the beauty and rich condition of Messana, watched their time for gaining possession of the place by treachery. They soon found means to be received as friends within the city; where they killed one part of the inhabitants, and drove the rest without the walls. And having taken to themselves the wives and children of those unhappy men, as they fell into the hands of every one at the very time of the disorder, they made afterwards a division of their lands and riches; and thus with little difficulty gained full possession of a very splendid city, and fertile territory. This success soon excited others to follow the example. The inhabitants of Rhegium, alarmed by the entrance of Pyrrhus into Italy, and being also under no small apprehensions of some danger from the Carthaginians, who were at that time the sole masters of the sea, implored the assistance of the Romans; who sent them a garrison of four thousand men under the command of Decius Campanus. These for some time remained firm in their duty, and guarded the liberties of the city. But being at last seduced by the commodious situation of the place, and by the wealth

wealth and flourishing condition of the citizens, they resolved to imitate the example which the Campanians had so lately set before them: and being assisted also by them in the execution of their design, they drove out or killed the inhabitants, and obtained intire possession of the city.

This horrid act of treachery raised great indignation in the Romans: but the wars in which they were then involved restrained their vengeance. As soon as these were ended, they marched and laid siege to Rhegium. The place soon fell into their hands; but the greatest part of the garrison was destroyed in the assault: for they fought like men who well foresaw the consequences of their crime. About three hundred only that were taken alive were sent to Rome; and being conducted by the Prætors into the Forum, were first scourged, and then beheaded. By this just severity, the Romans hoped that they should again recover their character of good faith among their allies. They restored the city also, with all the lands, to the former inhabitants.

The Mamertines of Messana, for this was the name which the Campanian mercenaries had assumed, as long as they were supported by the Romans who had possessed themselves of Rhegium, not only remained in quiet and secure enjoyment of their own city and proper territory, but made frequent incursions also into the adjacent countries: creating no small terror and disturbance, both to the Carthaginians and the Syracusans; and exacting contributions from many parts of Sicily. But no sooner had the siege of Rhegium deprived them of the assistance of these allies, than they were themselves so vigorously pressed by the Syracusan forces, that they were constrained to abandon all the open country, and to keep close behind their walls. The occasion was as follows.

A little before this time, when some dissension had been raised between the citizens of Syracuse and the army, the troops, while they lay incamped in the neighbourhood of Mergana, elected two Magistrates out of their own body;

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Artemidorus

Artemidorus, and Hiero who was afterwards King. Hiero was then extremely young: but he seemed to have been singularly formed by nature to sustain the Regal dignity. As soon as he was invested with this new authority, he found some means, by the assistance of his friends, to gain admission into the city. And having there drawn all the chiefs of the opposite faction into his power, he shewed in his whole deportment such proofs of clemency and true greatness, that the people, though they were by no means satisfied with the liberty which the army had assumed, with one voice declared him Prætor. But it was easy to discern from his first behaviour in this office, that he had some more exalted post in view. For having remarked, that as often as the forces, with the Magistrates at their head, were obliged to take the field, some new commotions and disorders were always raised among the citizens, and observing also, that a certain Syracusan named Leptines was the first in favour with the people, and far superior in his influence and credit to all the rest of the inhabitants, he resolved to contract a close alliance with him, and to marry his daughter: being persuaded, that by the help of his authority, he should be able to keep all things quiet and secure at home, whenever himself should be engaged in the command of the army abroad. Some time afterwards, observing that the mercenaries, who had been long employed in the Syracusan armies, were become untractable and mutinous, he ordered all the forces to take the field, and to march against the barbarians of Messana. Being incamped within sight of the enemy near Centuripe, he drew up his army in order of battle along the side of the Cyamosorus. But having stationed the Syracusan troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, at a distance from the rest, as if he had intended an attack from a different quarter, he opposed the mercenaries only to the enemy, by whom they were intirely defeated and destroyed. But as soon as the slaughter was begun, himself with

with all the forces of the city returned back again to Syracuse. Having thus happily accomplished his design, and cleared the army of it's seditious members, and having filled their place with a sufficient number of new mercenaries levied by himself, from that time he continued to discharge the duties of his post, without any tumult or disorder. And when the Mamertines, elated by their past success, had spread themselves over all the country without any fear or caution, he led against them the forces of the city, which were now completely armed and disciplined, and came to an engagement with them upon the banks of the river Longanus, in the plain of Mylæ. And having obtained an intire victory, in which their Generals also were taken prisoners, he gave an effectual check to the insolence of those barbarians, and on his return to Syracuse was saluted King by the army.

The Mamertines, who had been before deprived of the assistance which they had been accustomed to receive from Rhegium, were now so broken and disheartened by this last defeat, that they considered their affairs as almost desperate. In this state, some among them had recourse to the Carthaginians, and delivered the Citadel into their hands: while the rest sent embassadors to Rome, to make an offer of their city, and to implore the protection of the Romans, for a people sprung, as they pretended, from one common stock with themselves. The Romans were for some time under great perplexity and doubt. To comply with this demand, appeared to be in a high degree improper and absurd. They had lately punished with the last severity a body of their own citizens, for having betrayed the publick faith in seizing Rhegium: and if now they should support the Mamertines, who not only had surprized Messana by the very same kind of perfidy, but had assisted in taking Rhegium also, it would be difficult to find any fair apology for such a conduct. On the other hand, as the Carthaginians, besides the dominions

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which they possessed in Afric, were masters also of many parts of Spain, and of all the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian seas, it was greatly to be feared, that, if Sicily should now fall into their hands, they would soon become too formidable neighbours, since they would then lie close to every part of Italy, and incircle them on every side. It was easy also to discern, that they must very soon be able to reduce this island, if the Mamertines were not now supported. For if once they were permitted to possess Messina, they would find it no hard task to conquer Syracuse, since they were already masters of almost all the other parts of Sicily. The Romans saw the danger, and considered it as a matter of the last necessity, to obviate and prevent these consequences; and not suffer Messina to fall into the hands of those, who might from thence be able to lay as it were a bridge for passing into Italy. Yet after many long debates upon the Subject, the Senate even at last refused to pass any decree concerning it; because the manifest absurdity on one side seemed still to draw with equal weight against the advantage on the other. But the People, who had been much exhausted by their former wars, and wished for some occasion to repair their shattered fortunes, being incited partly by the great utility which would confessedly accrue to the Republick from the war, and animated also by the shew of those advantages with which the Prætors in their speeches flattered every private man, resolved that the desired assistance should be sent, and made a law for that purpose, commanding Appius Claudius, one of the Consuls, to pass over to Messina. The Mamertines, partly by the means of fraud, and partly by open force, drove out the Carthaginian commander from the Citadel, and delivered the city to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, when they had first crucified their General, for his cowardice and ill conduct in relinquishing the Citadel, made haste to draw together all their forces, to retake

retake Messana. And having stationed their fleet near Pelorus, and posted their land army on the side of Senæ, they began to press the siege with vigour. At the same time Hiero, imagining that this occasion might be favourable for driving the Mamertines intirely out of Sicily, entered into treaty with the Carthaginians: and beginning his march from Syracuse, he came and invested the city on the other side, having incamped near the mountain called Chalcidicus.

The Consul Appius passed the Straits in an adventurous manner by night, and was received into Messana. But finding that the place was closely pressed on every side, and reflecting with himself that the affair was full of hazard, and that little reputation was likely to be gained from a war in which the enemy were so much superior both by land and sea, he sent offers of accomodation to both camps; desiring only that the Mamertines might remain unmolested. But as this proposal was rejected, he was forced to venture on a battle; and resolved to make his first attack upon the Syracusans. He accordingly drew his forces out of the city, and offered battle to Hiero, who readily accepted it. The fight was long and obstinate; but at last the Romans obtained the victory, and drove back the enemy to their camp: and having spoiled the dead, they returned again to Messana.

But Hiero, beginning now to apprehend some worse event, as soon as night came on, returned back again with his army in all haste to Syracuse. When Appius, on the following day, was informed of this retreat, he immediately conceived new hopes, and resolved to attack the Carthaginians without delay. He gave orders therefore to the troops to take their repast betimes; and marching out of the city at break of day, he charged the enemy, killed great numbers of them, and forced the rest to fly to the neighbouring cities. After these signal victories, the siege being raised, and no forces appearing

ing in the field, the Romans wasted at their leisure the country of the Syracusans and their allies; and at last advanced to Syracuse itself, in order to besiege it.

Such were the causes, and such the time and manner, of the first expedition of the Romans out of Italy: and here I fix the beginning of my work: having first run through the times which just before preceded it, in order more clearly to explain the genuine and real grounds of this transaction. For that the reader might be able to obtain a just and perfect knowledge of the causes of the present power and greatness of the Romans, it was proper previously to acquaint him both with the time and manner, in which this people first recovered into better hopes, after they had beheld their country lost: and by what means afterwards, when they had vanquished all the neighbouring States, they found occasion to extend their conquests beyond the bounds of Italy. Nor let it be thought in any manner strange, if in the subsequent parts of this History, when I am speaking of the States that are chiefly celebrated in the world, I should look back to ages that are more remote. For this I shall do, merely for the sake of beginning from such facts as will best enable us to discern, from what causes, and in what time and manner, they severally grew to that condition, in which they are seen to flourish in the present times. But I now must hasten to the task that is before me; mentioning first, in few words, the events which are designed to be the subject of these preliminary Books.

The first then is the war in Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans; and after it, the African war. Next will follow a recital of the actions of Amilcar and of Asdrubal in Spain: with the invasion also of Illyria by the Romans, who then for the first time sent their armies into those parts of Europe. After these transactions come the battles, which the Romans were forced to sustain in Italy against the Gauls:
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about which time it was, that the war of Cleomenes broke out in Greece ; with an account of which I shall conclude the second Book, and close the Introduction to my History.

To enter into a minute detail of all the parts and circumstances of these wars, would be a labour quite unnecessary to myself, and attended with no great advantage to the reader. For it is not my design to write the history, but rather to give a general and summary account of these transactions, such as may serve for an introduction to my History : and by making a short recital of the chief events, in the order in which they were transacted, and carrying on the narration in one regular and connected series to the time from whence my own Work commences, to prepare the reader for the accounts that follow, and make the whole both easy and intelligible. I design however to be somewhat more particular and copious in describing the war in Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans. For it is not easy to find in history any one more considerable, either with respect to the time of it's duration, the diligence and forces by which it was sustained, the constant and uninterrupted course of important actions that happened in it, or the great and sudden turns of fortune that attended it. And because the publick manners and civil institutions both of Rome and Carthage were as yet pure and unimpaired ; as their wealth was moderate ; their strength nearly equal ; it will be more easy to form a perfect judgment from this War, of the powers peculiar to the constitution of each Republick, than from those that followed.

Another motive, which inclined me not less strongly to give a more minute description of the Sicilian War, was because Fabius and Philinus, who are esteemed the most skilful writers on this subject, have by no means shewn a due exactness or fidelity in their relations. I cannot indeed persuade myself, that they would knowingly deviate from the truth. The characters of the men, and the whole tenor of their lives,
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exclude all such suspicion. But as it happens in the case of Lovers, a certain secret affection and partiality towards their friends and countrymen seem to have fixed insensibly some prejudices upon them. To these it must be imputed, that Philinus in every part of his History so highly praises the virtue, courage, and wisdom of the Carthaginians; allowing none of all these qualities to the Romans: while Fabius on the other hand takes all occasions to depreciate the Carthaginians, and extol the Romans. Now such a disposition, when it is shewn in other circumstances, is truly commendable. It is in part the character of a good man, to love his country and his friends, and to hate the enemies of both. But an Historian must divest himself of these affections: and be ready, on many occasions, to speak largely in the praises even of an enemy, when his conduct deserves applause; nor scruple to condemn his most esteemed and dearest friends, as often as their actions call for censure.

Truth is the Eye of History. For as an Animal, when deprived of sight, becomes incapable of performing its natural and proper functions, so if we take away Truth from History, what remains will be nothing but an useless Tale.

Now, if we pay a proper regard to truth, we shall find it necessary not only to condemn our friends on some occasions, and commend our enemies; but also to commend and condemn the same persons, as different circumstances may require. For as it is not to be imagined, that those who are engaged in great affairs, should always be pursuing false or mistaken measures; so neither is it probable, that their conduct can at all times be exempt from error. An Historian therefore, in all that he relates, should take care to be directed in his judgment by the genuine and real circumstances of every action, without regarding the actors of it. The following examples may serve to shew the truth of these remarks.

Philinus,

Philinus, in the beginning of his second Book, gives this account of the affairs of Sicily. "That Messana was invested by the Carthaginians and Syracusans: that the Romans had no sooner passed the Straits, and gained admission into the city, than they sallied out and attacked the Syracusans, but were repulsed with considerable loss: that they next made a like attempt upon the Carthaginians; in which engagement they not only were defeated, but lost also many of their men, who fell alive into the hands of the enemy." He then adds; "that immediately after this action, Hiero was so struck with terror, that he not only set fire to his camp, and fled away by night to Syracuse, but abandoned all the fortresses in the district of Messana: that the Carthaginians in the same manner deserted their intrenchments, and retired to their cities, not daring to oppose the Romans in the field: that the Generals, observing that their troops were quite disheartened, were afraid to venture on a second battle: that the Romans pursued closely after them in their retreat; and having plundered and destroyed the country, advanced even to Syracuse, in order to besiege it."

A relation so absurd must needs confute itself. The armies which, as this Historian writes, were laying siege to Messana, and which had gained the victory in two engagements, on a sudden become dispirited and heartless, abandon all the open country, and are themselves besieged: while the Romans, besieged and twice defeated, are yet described as pursuing the flying enemy, in possession of the open country, and at last laying siege to Syracuse. Facts so opposite can never be reconciled together. It is evident, that either the first, or the subsequent part of this narration must be false. But the latter is undoubtedly true: for the Romans actually laid siege to Syracuse, as this writer himself admits; and afterwards to Echetla, a city standing on the frontier between the Carthaginian and the Syracusan territories. It follows therefore, that

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the facts are false which are first affirmed : and that the Romans were victorious in the two engagements, in which they are represented by this Historian to have been defeated. Such then is the character of Philinus. For the same mistakes are to be found in almost every part of this performance. Nor is the History of Fabius in this respect more accurate ; as I shall hereafter take occasion to demonstrate. But I now return from this Digression ; and shall endeavour, by a regular though short deduction of the chief events, to set before the reader a clear and just description of the war.

C H A P. II.

AS soon as the news of these victories, which had been gained by Appius, were received at Rome, the Romans chose for Consuls M. Octacilius and M. Valerius, and sent them both into Sicily, with all the forces. The Armies of this Republick, besides the troops which are raised among the Allies, are composed of four Legions. These are levied every year : and each of them consists of four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. At their first arrival, many cities, both of the Carthaginians and the Syracusans, immediately submitted to them. When Hiero saw, that a general dread and consternation had spread through all the island, and considered likewise the numbers and the strength of the legionary forces, he began to think, that the issue of the war would necessarily be determined by these circumstances in favour of the Romans. He sent ambassadors therefore to the Consuls, with proposals for a treaty. The offer was embraced with pleasure by the Romans : chiefly for the sake of securing provisions to their army. For as the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, it was greatly to be feared, that their supplies would all be intercepted. And indeed the forces of the former year had been reduced to great extremity, through the want
of





A MAP
for the
EXPEDITION of ANNIBAL
Engraved
with some difference in the Route
from the Map of
M^R D'ANVILLE

of necessaries. Perceiving therefore that the friendship of this Prince might prove highly serviceable to them in this respect, they accepted it with joy; and agreed to a Treaty with him upon these conditions: "That he should pay a hundred Talents of silver, and restore without ransom all the Roman prisoners." Thus the alliance was concluded: and from this time Hiero, secure in the protection of the Romans, whom he supplied from time to time as their necessities required, possessed his kingdom in security; pursuing always the right paths of glory, and employing all his pains to gain the applause and favour of his subjects. And indeed so wise and prudent was his conduct, both in the general tenor of his Policy, and in every single act of government, that he reaped from it the most lasting fruits; and enjoyed a fame, to which few Princes have been ever able to aspire.

As soon as the Treaty was confirmed at Rome in an assembly of the People, it was resolved, for the time to come, to send two Legions only into Sicily. For as by this alliance the burthen of the war was become much lighter to them than before, so they considered likewise, that a smaller army might more easily be supplied with necessaries. But when the Carthaginians saw that Hiero was become their enemy, and that the Romans were preparing to pursue the war with all imaginable vigour, they soon were sensible, that it neither would be possible for them to oppose the enemy in the field, nor even to retain what they then possessed in Sicily, without a more considerable force. They therefore made great levies in Liguria, and among the Gauls, and greater still in Spain; and embarked them all for Sicily. And because Agrigentum was the strongest of all the places in the island that were subject to their power, and the most commodious also for the occasions of the war, they resolved to make that city their Place of Arms, and removed into it their stores and all the forces.

The Consuls, who had made the alliance with the King of
D 2 Syracuse,

Syracuse, were now returned to Rome; and L. Postumius and Q. Mamilius, who succeeded them in office and command, arrived in Sicily with the legions. As soon as they had seen the designs and preparations of the enemy, they resolved to act more vigorously than before. Neglecting therefore all the other business of the war, they marched directly to Agrigentum with all their forces; and incamping at the distance of eight stadia from the city, shut up the Carthaginians within their walls. It was now the time of harvest: and as the siege was likely to be of long continuance, the Roman soldiers were eagerly employed in getting in the corn, and had spread themselves over all the country, without care or caution. The Carthaginians seeing this disorder, sallied out upon the foragers, and routed them with little difficulty. They then ran towards the camp to plunder it, and with great fury attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments. But the excellence of the Roman discipline, upon this occasion, as on many others, proved the cause of their safety. For the soldiers, remembering that those who yielded their place in battle, or fled basely from their post, were always punished with death, not only sustained the charge against an enemy that far exceeded them in numbers, but also pressed their adversaries with so much force and vigour, that though they lost many of their men, they destroyed a greater number of the Carthaginians: and having at last surrounded them on every side, when they were just now ready to tear away the Palisade of the intrenchments, they drove them back with considerable loss, and pursued them even to the city. After this action, the Carthaginians were less frequent in their sallies; and the Romans used more precaution, when they went abroad to forage.

As the enemy never appeared without the walls, unless to engage in some slight skirmishes, the Consuls, having divided their army into two bodies, posted one of them near the
Temple

Temple of Æsculapius, and the other on the side which looked towards Heraclea, and fortified with works, on both sides of the city, the space that lay between the camps. They drew a Line round the city, to obstruct the sallies of the besieged: and another on the side towards the country, to repel all approaches from that quarter, and to intercept all succours. The space between the Lines and the camps was secured by advanced bodies of troops, and by works thrown up at proper distances, as the nature of the ground required. The allies had brought together to Erbeffus provisions and every kind of stores. And as this city stood at no great distance from the Roman camps, their convoys went and returned continually, and supplied them with all things in great abundance.

In this condition things remained for near five months: in which time, many slight engagements happened, but no decisive action. But the besieged were now greatly pressed by famine: for the numbers that were within the walls were not fewer than fifty thousand men. Annibal therefore, who commanded in the city, finding that all things tended to the last extremity, dispatched messenger after messenger to Carthage, to solicit some relief. The Carthaginians embarked some troops and elephants, and sent them into Sicily, to Hanno their other General. Hanno ordered all these forces to be drawn together to Heraclea: and having made himself master of Erbeffus by some secret practices among the citizens, he cut off all supplies from the Roman camp, and constrained them in their turn to feel the miseries of the besieged. Indeed so great was the extremity to which they were reduced, that they often were inclined to raise the siege: which at last they must have been compelled to do, if Hiero had not practised every method of address and diligence, to furnish them from time to time, in moderate quantity, with such supplies as were chiefly wanted.

But

But when Hanno saw, that the Roman army was disheartened and distressed by sickness, as well as famine, while on the other hand his own troops were fresh and fit for action; taking with him the elephants, which were about fifty in number, and the rest also of his forces, he marched in haste from Heraclea, having sent away the Numidian Horse before, with orders that they should approach the Roman camp, provoke their Cavalry to action, and immediately retire back again towards the main army. These troops accordingly advanced: and no sooner had they reached the nearest camp, than the Roman Cavalry came pouring out against them, and began the attack with fury. But the Numidians observed their orders, and maintained a flying fight, till they were joined by Hanno with the other forces: and then suddenly facing round, they fell with vigour upon the enemy, killed great numbers of them, and pursued the rest even close to their intrenchments. After this action, Hanno fixed his camp upon a hill called Torus, at the distance of ten stadia from the Romans.

In this situation they both remained during two whole months. Many slight engagements happened every day between them; but no action, that was general or decisive. But as Annibal now made continual signals by fires from the city, and sent messengers from day to day to Hanno, to acquaint him, that the multitude were no longer able to support the miseries of the famine, and that great numbers had deserted to the enemy, this General resolved at last to venture on a battle. The Romans on their part also, for the reasons which have been already mentioned, shewed an equal eagerness to engage. They drew out their forces on either side, and ranged them in order upon the ground that lay between the camps. The fight was long and obstinate: but after some time, the Carthaginian mercenaries who composed the first line gave ground, and falling back upon the elephants and the

the ranks that were behind them, threw the whole army into such disorder, that a general rout ensued. The greatest part of the troops were destroyed in the place: a small number only escaped to Heraclea. The Baggage, and almost all the elephants were taken. When night came on, the Romans, partly from the joy which their victory inspired, and partly through the fatigue which they had suffered in the action, neglected to guard their camp with the usual care. Annibal, whose affairs were desperate, considered this as the very moment of his safety. About midnight therefore, he began his march out of the city with all the foreign troops, filled up the Lines with sacks of Matting that were stuffed with Chaff, and passed undiscovered by the enemy. In the morning, the Romans, perceiving what had happened, gave some little disturbance to the Rear; but soon returned, and marched directly to the gates of Agrigentum: and finding no resistance, they entered the city and plundered it, and brought away many prisoners, with rich spoil of every kind.

The news of this success filled the Roman Senate with joy, and inspired them with greater hopes, than those which they had at first conceived. Instead of being satisfied with having relieved the Mamertines, and enriched themselves by the war, they now began to think, that it would be no hard task to drive the Carthaginians intirely out of Sicily, and, by the acquisition of that island, to add no small increase to the strength of their Republick. To this point therefore they directed all their views. And indeed on the part of the land forces, every thing seemed to promise a fair accomplishment of their designs. The two new Consuls, L. Valerius and T. Octacilius, maintained their ground in Sicily, and carried on the war with equal prudence and success. But on the other hand, as long as the Carthaginians should be suffered to remain sole masters of the sea, the event must still be doubtful. For though after the time when Agrigentum had first fallen
into

into their hands, many of the inland cities, in despair of being able to resist the Roman legions, had embraced their party, yet a greater number of those that stood along the coast revolted from them, through terror of the Carthaginian fleets. Thus the success on one side was still balanced by some equal loss. It was considered likewise, that the maritime parts of Italy were often pillaged and insulted by the enemy, while the coasts of Afric remained secure and unmolested. From all these reasons, they at last resolved, that they would oppose the Carthaginians upon the sea.

Among the motives, which induced me to enter into a more minute description of the War in Sicily, this was not the least: that I might take occasion to explain the time, and manner, in which the Romans first equipped a Naval armament, together with the causes that gave birth to that attempt.

Their design then was, to bring the war to a speedy and effectual conclusion. With this view, they resolved to build a hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes. But one great difficulty occurred. Their Builders were intirely unacquainted with the manner of constructing Quinqueremes; the use of which was then unknown in Italy. But in this design we may observe a most conspicuous proof of that bold and daring spirit, which is peculiar to the Romans: who, though destitute of all the means that such an enterprize required, and before they had even gained the least degree of knowledge or experience in maritime affairs, could at once conceive, and carry into execution, so vast a project, and make the first trial of their forces against the Carthaginians, who had received from their ancestors the undisputed sovereignty of the sea. The following fact may serve to confirm the truth of this reflection. When this people first resolved to send their forces over to Messina, they had neither any decked

decked vessels, or ships of transport, nor even a single Frigate. But having borrowed among the Tarentines, Eleates, Locrians, and Neapolitans, some Boats of fifty oars, and a few Triremes, they boldly embarked the legions in those vessels.

The Carthaginians bore down upon them in their passage: when one of their Quinqueremes, advancing to the fight with too great eagerness, struck upon the sands, and was taken by the Romans. This vessel was now made use of, as the model of their fleet: and indeed without some such accident, their want of skill must soon have forced them to abandon the design.

While the workmen were busy in building and fitting out the ships, others were employed to draw together a body of sailors, and instruct them in the exercise of the oar. This was done in the following manner. They placed Benches along the shore, upon which the rowers were ranged in the same order as at sea, with a proper officer among them to give the command. In this situation, they accustomed themselves to perform all the necessary motions of the body: to fall back together, and again to bend forwards; to contract, and extend their arms; to begin, or leave off, according to the signals. After this preparation, the vessels being now completely finished, they sailed out to sea, and, when they had spent some little time in perfecting their exercise, advanced along the coast of Italy, agreeably to the orders which they had before received.

For Cn. Cornelius, who commanded the naval forces, had sailed a few days before with seventeen ships towards Messana, to provide whatever might be wanted for the fleet: and had left directions with the other Captains, that they should follow him as soon as they were ready. But while he lay at Messana, having received some intelligence which gave him hopes of taking the town of Lipara by surprize, he too easily engaged in the design, and steered his course towards the
E place,

place, with the ships just mentioned. But on the news of this attempt, Annibal, who then was stationed at Panormus, immediately sent away the Senator Boodes, with twenty ships. Boodes, sailing to the place by night, blocked up the Romans in the port. As soon as day appeared, the sailors all fled from their ships, and escaped to land: and Cornelius, being struck with terror, and perceiving no means of safety, surrendered himself to the enemy, who immediately returned back again to Annibal, carrying with them the Roman Consul, and all his squadron. Not many days after this exploit, while the misfortune of the Romans was still fresh and recent, an accident of the same kind proved almost fatal to Annibal himself. For having received information, that the whole Roman fleet had steered their course along the coast of Italy, and were now at no great distance, he presently advanced with fifty vessels, designing to take a view of their numbers, and of the order in which they sailed. But he had scarcely doubled the Promontory of Italy, when he found himself at once in the very midst of the enemy, who were all disposed in perfect order, and ready to engage. A great part of his ships were taken: but himself escaped with the rest, though not without the greatest difficulty. The Romans then held on their course to Sicily: and being there informed of what had happened to Cornelius, they sent messengers to Duilius, who commanded the land forces in the island, and waited his arrival. At the same time, having received intelligence that the Carthaginians were at no great distance, they began to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. But because their ships were built with little skill, and were both slow and heavy in their motions, it was resolved to balance these defects by the use of certain Machines, which some person in the fleet had invented for the occasion, and which were afterwards called by the Romans, CORVI. The description of them is as follows.

They erected on the Prow of every vessel a round Pillar of wood,

wood, of about twelve feet in height, and of three Palms breadth in diameter, with a Pully at the top. To this Pillar was fitted a kind of Stage, eighteen feet in length and four feet broad, which was made ladder-wise, of strong timbers laid across, and cramped together with iron: the Pillar being received into an oblong square, which was opened for that purpose, at the distance of six feet within the end of the Stage. On either side of the Stage lengthways was a Parapet, which reached just above the knee. At the farthest end of this Stage, or Ladder, was a bar of iron, whose shape was somewhat like a Pestle: but it was sharpened at the bottom, or lower point; and on the top of it was a Ring. The whole appearance of this Machine very much resembled those that are used in grinding corn. To the Ring just mentioned was fixed a Rope; by which, with the help of the Pully that was at the top of the Pillar, they hoisted up the Machines, and, as the vessels of the enemy came near, let them fall upon them, sometimes on their Prow, and sometimes on their sides, as occasion best served. As the Machine fell, it struck into the Decks of the enemy, and held them fast. In this situation, if the two vessels happened to lay side by side, the Romans leaped on board from all parts of their ships at once. But in case that they were joined only by the Prow, they then entered two and two along the Machine: the two foremost extending their bucklers right before them, to ward off the strokes that were aimed against them in front; while those that followed rested the Bos of their bucklers upon the top of the Parapet on either side, and thus covered both their flanks. Having in this manner prepared their vessels for the combat, they now only waited for the time to engage.

As soon as Duilius heard of the misfortune that had happened to the other Consul, he left the care of the army to the Tribunes, and hastened to the Fleet: and having received information that the enemy were employed in ravaging the plain

of Mylæ, he presently steered his course that way. The Carthaginians beheld their approach with joy; and immediately drew out their fleet, which consisted of a hundred and thirty ships: despising the inexperience of the Romans, and flattering themselves with such assurance of success, that they even disdained to form their squadron into any kind of order, and, turning their prows towards the enemy, bore down instantly upon them, as to a certain spoil. The Commander of the fleet was the same Annibal, who made his retreat by night from Agrigentum. He sailed in a vessel of seven Banks of oars, which had formerly belonged to Pyrrhus. As they approached more nearly to the Roman fleet, the sight of those strange Machines, erected on the prow of every ship, occasioned some little hesitation and surprize. After some time however, as their contempt of the enemy again took place, they advanced with the same ardour as before. But when their vessels, as soon as they were joined in action, were grappled fast by these new instruments of war, and when the Romans, instantly advancing along the Machines towards them, maintained the fight upon their very decks, one part of the Carthaginians were immediately destroyed, and the rest threw down their arms, being struck with terror by this new kind of combat, which seemed so nearly to resemble an engagement upon land. The ships that had advanced the foremost to the fight, being thirty in number, were taken with their men. Among these was the General's ship. But Annibal himself found means to get on board a boat, and escaped, though not without the greatest hazard.

The rest of the squadron were now advancing to the fight: but having observed the fate of their companions, they at first turned aside, in order to elude the stroke of the Machines. But as their ships were light, and easy in their motions, they soon resumed their confidence, and began to fall upon the Roman vessels, some in stern, and some upon their sides; being

being persuaded, that, with this precaution, they should be secure from danger. But when they saw, with great astonishment, that, on which side soever they advanced, the *CORVI* still hung over them, they were at last content to seek their safety in flight, with the loss of fifty ships.

This great and unexpected success upon the sea encouraged the Romans to pursue the war with double ardour. They land their forces upon the island, near *Ægesta*; raise the siege of that city, when it was reduced to the last extremity; and take *Macella* by storm.

About the time when this victory was gained by sea, *Amilcar*, who commanded the land forces of the Carthaginians, and was incamped near *Panormus*, having heard that some disputes had happened between the Romans and their Allies concerning the post of honour in the field, and that the allies were preparing to incamp apart between *Thermæ* and *Paropus*, fell suddenly upon them with all his forces, when they had just raised their camp, and killed near four thousand men.

About the same time *Annibal* returned back to *Carthage*, with the ships that had escaped in the late engagement. Not long afterwards he sailed from thence to *Sardinia* with the fleet; taking with him also some Officers of the chiefest note. But being there surprised one day by the Romans, who from the time when they first appeared upon the sea had resolved to attempt the conquest of this Island, and being blocked up by them in a certain harbour, so that many of his vessels fell into their hands, he was seized and crucified by the Carthaginians who got safe to land.

The succeeding summer produced in *Sicily* nothing memorable on the part of the Romans. But the Consuls of the following year, *A. Atilius* and *C. Sulpicius*, having led the army to *Panormus*, where the Carthaginians then lay in winter quarters, drew up their forces in order of battle before the town. But when the enemy kept close behind their walls, they

they directed their route back again to Hippana, and took it in the first assault. Mytistratum was also taken: but not without much labour, and a siege of long continuance; for the natural situation of the place had rendered it very strong. They then marched to Camarina, which not long before had revolted from them: and having advanced their Works close against the city, and with their Engines battered down the walls, they soon forced it to surrender. After this success, the town of Enna, with many other little places that belonged to the Carthaginians, submitted to the Romans; who then resolved to form the siege of Lipara.

In the following year, Atilius the Roman Consul, who then lay at anchor in the port of Tyndaris, having perceived the Carthaginian fleet passing very near him, in a careless manner and without any order, made haste immediately to pursue them with ten ships, and gave orders to the rest to follow as soon as they were ready. But when the Carthaginians saw, that one part of the enemy were already under sail, while others had scarcely yet got on board, and that the foremost ships had advanced far before the rest, they suddenly turned upon them, and surrounding them on every side, sunk the other vessels, and had almost taken that in which the Consul sailed. But because his ship was lighter than the rest, and well supplied with a body of the most skilful rowers, by the help of those advantages he escaped the danger. But in a short time afterwards, the rest of the Roman Squadron advanced in order: and having all turned their prows, in one Line, against the enemy, they engaged them with such vigour and success, that they took ten of their ships with all the men, destroyed eight more, and forced the others to retreat in haste towards the Liparean Islands.

As the advantages in this engagement had seemed to be on both sides equal, they both resumed their naval preparations with greater vigour than before; and resolved to employ their whole attention,

attention, to obtain the sovereignty of the sea. During this time, the armies upon land performed no exploit that deserves to be related: but wasted the whole campaign in slight and inconsiderable actions, of little moment or importance.

In the following summer, the Romans, having employed, as we have said, their utmost diligence to complete their naval preparations, sailed out to sea, with a fleet of three hundred and thirty decked ships, and cast anchor at Messina. From thence, leaving Sicily on the right, and doubling the promontory Pachynus, they steered their course towards Ecnomus, where their army at that time lay. The Carthaginians, having also drawn together a fleet, which consisted of three hundred and fifty ships of war, sailed first to Lilybæum, and from thence to Heraclea of Minos. The design of the Romans was, to divert the war from Sicily to Afric, and constrain the Carthaginians to employ their strength in the defence of their own proper country. The Carthaginians on the other hand, being sensible that their coasts were open, and that the people of the country must become an easy prey, if the enemy should once gain the land, resolved to intercept them in the attempt, and force them to a battle.

When such were the sentiments on either side, it was easy to discern, that an engagement soon must follow. The Romans therefore made such a disposition of their forces, that they were equally prepared either to proceed in their intended descent upon the coasts of Afric, or to accept a battle, in case that it should now be offered by the Carthaginians. They selected from the land army all their choicest troops; and having divided the fleet into four separate bodies, assigned to each of them a double name. The first division was called, the first Legion, and the first Squadron: and so the rest. The last only, being not distinguished by any such particular denomination, was stiled in general, the Triarii: the name, which is appropriated to the last division in the armies upon land.

land. The whole fleet consisted of a hundred and forty thousand men: each vessel containing one hundred and twenty soldiers, and three hundred seamen. On the other hand, the forces of the Carthaginians, whose preparations were made wholly for the sea, amounted to more than a hundred and fifty thousand; if we compute them from the number of their ships. How impossible is it, I do not say to behold so vast an armament, but even to hear a bare description of it, without being fixed in admiration, both of the importance of the contest, and of the power and strength of the two Republicks that were thus engaged.

The Romans, having considered that the course which they were obliged to steer lay through the open sea, and that the chief advantage of the enemy consisted in the lightness and celerity of their ships, resolved to make such a disposition, as might render their whole fleet firm, compact, and very difficult to be broken. For this purpose, two vessels carrying six Banks of oars, being those in which the Consuls sailed, were first placed side by side in front. Each of these was followed by a line of vessels; the first Squadron making one Line; and the second, the other: the ships of either Line extending themselves to a greater distance still as they advanced, and gradually widening the area of the figure. Their prows were all turned outwards. The first and second Squadrons being thus disposed in form of a Wedge, they drew up the third Division in a Line behind: so that the whole resembled the figure of a Triangle; the third Squadron constituting the Base. These last were followed by the Transports, which they held in tow. Last of all came the Triarii, or fourth Division, ranged likewise in a Line of single ships, but so extended, as to cover both the flanks of the Line before them. This Disposition resembled, as I said, the figure of a Triangle, the upper part of which was hollow, and the Base solid: the whole being
strong,

strong, and proper for action, and such as could not easily be broken by the enemy.

The Carthaginian Generals, having animated their men as the occasion required, and represented to them in few words, that if they should gain the victory in the present combat, the business of the war would still be confined to Sicily as before, but that in case they were defeated, they must then be forced to defend their country, families, and possessions against the Romans, ordered all immediately to get on board. The forces, being fully sensible of the truth of what was spoken to them, received the order with alacrity, and came sailing from the harbour full of hope and eager resolution. The Generals, having remarked the disposition of the enemy, ranged three parts of all their fleet in a Line of single ships, extending the right Wing far out to sea, with design to surround the Romans, and turning all their prows towards them. The remaining part was posted on the left, very near to shore, and in the figure which is called the *FORCEPS*. The right Wing, composed of all the *Quinqueremes* and *Gallies*, which, from their lightness and celerity were most proper for the design of surrounding the enemy, was led by Hanno, whose army was defeated in the siege of *Agrigentum*: and the left was committed to the care of Amilcar, who commanded in the former battle of *Tyndaris*. This General took his station in the Centre of the Line, and, as soon as the fight began, put in practice the following stratagem.

The Romans, when they saw that the enemy were ranged in a Line of single ships, began the combat by attacking their Centre. But the Carthaginians in the Centre received orders from Amilcar immediately to retreat, that they might thus force the Romans to break the order of their Battle. They fly accordingly with the greatest haste: and the Romans followed them with eagerness. By this contrivance, the first and second Squadrons of the Romans were soon divided from

the third, which held the transport-ships in tow, and from the Triarii, who were drawn up behind to support the rest. When they were separated to a sufficient distance, the Carthaginians, upon a signal given from Amilcar's ship, suddenly turned about, and fell with fury upon the vessels that pursued them. The fight was obstinate: and the advantages on both sides for some time equal. For though the Carthaginians were far superior in the lightness of their ships, and in their skill in advancing or retreating, and attacking the enemy on every side; yet the Romans derived no less assurances of victory, from the vigour and courage of their troops, the advantage of their Machines, and the presence of both the Consuls, under whose eyes the soldiers fought. Such was the state of the action on that side.

About this time Hanno, who commanded in the right Wing at some distance from the vessels that were first engaged, stretched out to sea, and bearing down upon the Triarii, threw them into great disorder. The Carthaginians also that were ranged along the coast, having changed their first disposition, and turned their prows in front towards the enemy, advanced against the Squadron that towed the transports. Thus the whole engagement consisted at once of three different combats, maintained in different places. And because in each of these divisions, the strength of the combatants was nearly equal, the success was also for some time equal. But in the progress of the action, the affair was brought at last to a decision: a different one perhaps, than what might reasonably have been expected in such circumstances. For the Roman Squadron, that had begun the engagement, gained so full a victory, that Amilcar was forced to fly, and the Consul Manlius brought away the vessels that were taken.

The other Consul, having now perceived the danger in which the Triarii and the transports were involved, hastened to their assistance with the second Squadron, which was still
intire.

intire. The Triarii, having received these succours, when they were just upon the point of yielding, again resumed their courage, and renewed the fight with vigour: so that the enemy, being surrounded on every side in a manner so sudden and unexpected, and attacked at once both in front and rear, were at last constrained to steer away to sea.

About this time Manlius also, returning from the engagement, observed that the ships of the third Squadron were forced in close to shore, and there blocked up, by the left Division of the Carthaginian fleet. He joined his forces therefore with those of the other Consul, who had now placed the Transports and Triarii in security, and hastened to assist these vessels, which were so invested by the enemy, that they seemed to suffer a kind of siege. And indeed they must all have been long before destroyed, if the Carthaginians, through apprehension of the *Corvi*, had not still kept themselves at distance, and declined a close engagement. But the Consuls, having now advanced together, surround the enemy, and take fifty of their ships with all the men. The rest, being but few in number, steered close along the shore, and saved themselves by flight.

Such were the circumstances of this engagement: in which, the victory at last was wholly on the side of the Romans. Twenty-four of their ships were sunk in the action; and more than thirty of the Carthaginians. No Vessel of the Romans fell into the hands of the enemy: but sixty-four of the Carthaginians were taken with their men.

After this success, the Romans, having supplied the fleet with new provisions, repaired the vessels that were taken from the enemy, and shewn such care of their naval forces as the late victory well deserved, again sailed out to sea, and steered their course towards the coast of Afric. The foremost ships, arriving at *Hermæa*, cast anchor there, and waited for the rest of the fleet. The Promontory, called *Hermæa*, is situated

upon the extreme edge of the Gulph of Carthage, from whence it extends far out to sea, and points towards the coast of Sicily. When the other vessels were arrived, they all failed together along the coast, till they came to Aspis. And having there disembarked their forces, drawn their ships to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, they resolved immediately to invest the city, having first in vain invited the inhabitants to surrender.

C H A P. III.

THE Carthaginians, who had escaped from the late engagement, and returned safe to Carthage, were persuaded that the Romans, elated by so great a victory, would immediately direct their course towards that city. They made therefore the necessary disposition, both by land and sea, for securing all the approaches to the coast. But when they heard that the enemy had already disembarked their troops, and were laying siege to Aspis, having now lost all hope of being able to prevent their landing, they began to levy forces, and employed all their care to fortify the city and the adjoining country.

The Romans soon forced Aspis to surrender: and having left in the place a proper garrison, they sent some messengers to Rome, to convey the news of their success, and to receive instructions with regard to the measures that were next to be pursued. They then decamped with all their forces, and marched through the country, to waste and plunder it. Finding no resistance from the enemy, they destroyed many houses of great magnificence, and returned back again to their ships, carrying with them a great quantity of cattle, and more than twenty thousand slaves.

The messengers about this time returned from Rome; with orders, that one of the Consuls should remain in Afric with

with the forces that were necessary, and the other carry back the fleet. Regulus therefore was left behind, with fifteen thousand foot, five hundred horse, and forty of the ships: while Manlius, taking with him the prisoners, and the rest of the naval forces, passed safely along the coast of Sicily, and arrived at Rome.

The Carthaginians, perceiving from the preparations that were made, that the enemy had no design to leave the country, chose at first two Generals, Bostar, and Asdrubal the son of Hanno, and sent afterwards for Amilcar likewise from Heraclaea. Amilcar sailed in haste to Carthage, with five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse: and being declared third General, he held a consultation with Asdrubal and the other Chief, concerning the measures that were most proper to be taken. It was soon resolved, that they should lead the forces against the enemy; and not suffer them thus to waste the country without resistance. The Consul, after some days, advanced again with his army through the country; storming all the Posts that were not fortified with walls, and reducing the rest by siege. Being at last arrived near Adis, a city of some importance, he incamped before it, prepared his Works, and began to press the siege with vigour. The Carthaginians, in order to relieve the place, and save the country round it from destruction, directed their march that way with all their forces, and fixed their camp upon a Hill, which indeed overlooked the enemy, but was in every other respect a very improper situation for their army. For as their chief strength consisted in their Elephants and Cavalry, they should in prudence have incamped upon the open Plain: whereas by marching into places that were steep, confined, and craggy, they seemed to instruct their enemies in what manner they best might act against them. And this indeed was the event. For the Romans, wisely judging that the strongest and most serviceable part of the Carthaginian army, and that which they had

had the greatest cause to dread, was rendered wholly useless by their situation, resolved to seize the occasion, and engage the enemy, before they should descend into the plain. They drew out their forces therefore by break of day, and began the attack on both sides of the hill. The Carthaginian Cavalry and Elephants were not able to perform any service in the action. But the Mercenaries stood for some time firm, and maintained the fight with so much vigour, that they forced the first Legion to give ground. But when these troops were attacked behind, and dispersed with little difficulty, by the Romans who had ascended the hill on the other side, the whole army then fled at once from the camp, and a general rout ensued. The Elephants with the Cavalry gained the plain, and escaped. The Romans, having for some time pursued the Infantry, returned back to the camp, and pillaged it; and marched afterwards at leisure through the country, wasting and destroying all the cities in their way: and having at last possessed themselves of Tunis, they there incamped; because this city not only seemed commodious for the occasions of the war, but was also situated with great advantage, for infesting Carthage itself, and all the adjoining country.

The Carthaginians were now reduced to a condition, which indeed seemed next to desperate. For besides these two defeats, the one by sea the other upon land, which were both occasioned not so much through any want of courage in the troops, as by the unskilful conduct of the Generals, the Numidians had also sent detachments into their territories, and committed even greater devastations, than the Romans. The people all left their habitations in the country, and fled to Carthage. Their numbers soon occasioned a most dreadful famine in the place: while the apprehensions also of a sudden siege filled every heart with consternation and dismay. But Regulus, who had given so great a shock to the strength of Carthage

Carthage both by land and sea, that the city itself seemed almost ready to surrender to him, began now to fear, that a new Consul might arrive from Rome, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war. He invited therefore the Carthaginians to a treaty. The offer was embraced with pleasure: and some of the Chiefs of the city were sent to settle the conditions with him. But so far were they from yielding their consent in any point to the terms that were proposed, that they scarcely could submit to hear them. For Regulus, as if he had been already master of their fate, seemed to think, that every thing which he was inclined to grant, should be accepted by them as mere grace and favour. But the Embassadors, perceiving that though they should intirely be reduced beneath the Roman yoke, no worse conditions could be imposed, than those that now were offered, not only returned again without concluding any treaty, but were greatly offended also and incensed by the unyielding haughtiness of the Consul. The Carthaginian Senate, when they knew the terms that were demanded, assumed a noble constancy; and, though they were almost ready to despair of safety, resolved to encounter every danger, and put in practice every expedient that time might offer, rather than by a base submission to disgrace the glory of their former actions.

About this time, one of those that had been sent by the Carthaginians into Greece, to raise some mercenaries in that country, returned to Carthage, bringing with him a large body of troops. Among them was a certain Lacedæmonian, named Xantippus, who had been educated in the Spartan discipline, and from thence had gained a perfect knowledge in the art of war. As soon as he was informed of all the circumstances of the late defeat, and had seen the nature of the Carthaginian forces, with the numbers of their Horse and Elephants, he began first to reflect within himself, and afterwards to declare among his friends, that the Carthaginians had
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not been vanquished by the Romans, but owed their losses to their own mistakes, and to the want of skill in their Commanders. This discourse, being soon spread among the people, as it happens in such conjunctures, came at last to the ears of the Generals and the Magistrates, who ordered Xantippus to be called. When he came before them, he explained with so much clearness the causes of their late misfortune, and shewed such strong assurances of victory, in case that they now would yield to his advice, and choose the open plains for their incampments, marches, battles, that the Chiefs with one voice applauded all his sentiments, and committed the care of the army to him.

From the time when this discourse was first known among the people, a kind of joyful rumour began to spread through all the city, and raised a general expectation of some happy change. But when Xantippus drew up the troops in order without the walls, and formed them into several bodies; training and instructing each of them to move according to the rules of military discipline; a Skill, so visibly superior to that of the other Generals, forced loud applauses from the multitude. They demanded to be led immediately against the enemy: and seemed to be assured, that under such a Chief they could never suffer any loss. The Generals, when they saw the courage of the soldiers thus restored, harangued them in such words as the time required, and in a few days afterwards began their march. Their army was composed of twelve thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, besides the Elephants, which amounted to near a hundred. The Romans were under some surprize, when they saw that the Carthaginians now for the first time chose the open plains, both for their marches and incampments. They resolved however to meet and engage them without delay. Having advanced therefore with all their forces, on the first day they fixed their camp at the distance of ten stadia only from the enemy. On the

the following day, the Carthaginian Generals held a consultation, in order to determine what was necessary to be done. But the soldiers ran together in crouds, and calling aloud upon the name of Xantippus, demanded to be led without delay against the enemy. The Generals perceiving the great alacrity and confidence of the troops, and being also strongly urged by the intreaties of Xantippus, who pressed them instantly to seize the occasion that was offered, gave orders to prepare for the engagement, and committed to Xantippus the care and disposition of the whole. Xantippus, being intrusted with this power, ranged the Elephants in a single line, in front; and behind them, at a moderate distance, the Carthaginian Phalanx. He posted on the right Wing one part of the mercenaries: the rest, that were more lightly armed, were equally distributed into either Wing, together with the Horse.

The Romans also drew up their army in Battle with equal readiness. Their chief care was, to secure themselves against the Elephants, which they greatly dreaded. For this purpose, having placed their light-armed troops in front, they drew up the legions in deep and close order behind, and divided the Cavalry upon the Wings. Thus they lessened the usual extent of their Front; but gave a greater depth to the body of their army. So that upon the whole, their disposition was well adapted to sustain the shock of the Elephants; but was wholly ineffectual for resisting the Carthaginian Cavalry, which in numbers far exceeded that of the Romans.

In this order both armies stood awhile, expecting the signal to engage. But when Xantippus ordered the Elephants to approach, and break the ranks of the enemy, while the Horse on either wing, advancing in the same moment to the charge, endeavoured to surround them, then the Romans, clashing their armour after their custom, ran forwards with loud cries to the engagement. Their Horse, overpowered by numbers, were soon turned to flight. But the Infantry of the left Wing,

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led on by their contempt of the mercenary troops, and being desirous likewise to avoid the shock of the Elephants, fell furiously upon the right Wing of the Carthaginians, and having routed them with little difficulty, pursued them even to their camp. The troops that first encountered with the Elephants, were soon destroyed, and trampled down in heaps: but the main body of the army remained for some time firm, by reason of the depth and closeness of the files. But when the hindmost ranks were obliged to face about, and engage the Cavalry, that had now surrounded them; and when those who had forced their way beyond the Elephants, were charged by the Carthaginian Phalanx, which was still intire; then were the Romans distressed on every side, and destitute of all resource. The greatest part were trodden down in heaps, under the enormous weight of the Elephants; and the rest destroyed in their very ranks by the javelins thrown from the Horse. A small number only hoped to find their safety in flight. But as their way lay through a flat and open country, the Elephants and Cavalry soon overtook, and destroyed the greater part. About five hundred only were taken alive: and among these, the Consul Regulus. The Carthaginians lost in the action eight hundred of their mercenary forces, who were attacked and routed by the left Wing of the Roman army. Of the Romans, about two thousand men, being those that had charged the mercenaries, were separated, in the course of the pursuit, to a distance from the army: and having thus escaped the general slaughter, they retreated safe to Aspis. The rest all were slain upon the place; the Consul alone excepted, and those that were taken with him. The Carthaginians having spoiled the dead, returned back again to Carthage: exulting in their success, and carrying with them the Consul Regulus, and the other prisoners.

How wide a field of reflection is opened to us by this event: and what admirable lessons does it contain, for the good

good conduct of human life. In the fate of Regulus we may discern, how little confidence should be reposed in Fortune : especially, when she flatters with the fairest hopes. For He, who a few days before beheld the miserable state, to which the Carthaginians were reduced, without remorse or pity, was now himself led captive by them ; and forced to implore his safety of those very enemies, to whom he had shewn no mercy. We may also remark in this event the truth of that Saying of Euripides ; “ That one wise Counsel is better than the Strength of many.” For here, the Wisdom of one man defeated legions that were thought invincible ; infused new life into a people, whose losses had even almost rendered them insensible of misery ; and saved their tottering State from ruin. Let the Reader then take care to reap some profit from these examples ; and apply them to the improvement of his life and manners. For since there are two sources only, from whence any real benefit can be derived ; our own misfortunes, and those that have happened to other men ; and since the first of these, though generally perhaps the most effectual, is far more dangerous and painful than the other ; it will always be the part of prudence to prefer the latter, which will alone enable us at all times to discern whatever is fit and useful, without any hazard or disquiet. And hence appears the genuine excellence of History : which, without exposing us to the labour or the cost of suffering, instructs us how to form our actions upon the truest models, and to direct our judgement right in all the different circumstances of life. But let us return from this digression.

After a victory so complete, the Carthaginians set no bounds to the expressions of their joy ; but poured out incessant acts of acknowledgement to the Gods, and strove to outdo each other in all the acts of hospitality and kindness. But Xantippus, who had thus saved their State from ruin, returned back again to Greece, within a short time after. In this he shew-

ed great prudence and discernment. For signal and important services seldom fail to excite sharp malevolence and calumny : which though a native of the country, supported by his friends and family, may perhaps be able to resist and conquer, yet Foreigners are usually oppressed and ruined by them. Some writers give a different account of the departure of this General, which I shall examine in its proper place.

As soon as the Romans heard, that the affairs in Afric had proved so contrary to all their hopes, they immediately prepared a fleet, to bring away the men that had escaped in the late engagement. On the other hand, the Carthaginians advanced and laid siege to Aspis, hoping to get these troops into their hands. But meeting with a stout and vigorous resistance, they were at last obliged to raise the siege. Being then informed, that the Romans were fitting out a fleet, with design to return to Afric, they repaired all their old vessels, and built some new ; and having in a short time equipped a fleet of two hundred ships, sailed out to sea, to observe the motions of the enemy.

In the beginning of the summer, the Romans came out to sea, with a fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, under the command of the Consuls, M. Æmilius and Servius Fulvius ; and sailed along the coast of Sicily towards Afric. Near the promontory Hermæa, having met with and engaged the Carthaginians, they defeated them even in the first attack with little difficulty, and took a hundred and fourteen of their vessels with all the men. They then received on board the troops that had escaped to Aspis, and directed their route back again to Sicily. But when they had completed the greatest part of their course, and were now approaching the Camarian coast, they were suddenly attacked by a tempest so great and terrible, that no words can sufficiently describe the horrors of it. Of four hundred, and sixty-four vessels, no more than eighty escaped the fury of this storm : the rest being either
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buried in the ocean, or dashed against the rocks and promontories. The whole shore was covered with dead bodies, and with broken ships : so that History can scarce afford another example of so great and general a destruction. This misfortune was not so much to be ascribed to accident, as to the imprudent obstinacy of the Consuls. For the Pilots had given them repeated warnings, not to sail along the exterior coast of Sicily, which looks towards Afric, where the shore was open and afforded no convenient harbour : especially too, as the season was then the most unfavourable for navigation ; the constellation of Orion being not quite passed, and the Dog-star just ready to appear. But the Consuls despised their admonitions, and held on their course along the coast : being tempted by the hopes of gaining certain towns, which they flattered themselves would surrender to them without resistance, upon the first approach of their victorious fleet. Thus were they hurried by the prospect of some slight advantage, into misfortunes that were irretrievable ; and which forced from them an acknowledgement of their rashness, when it was now too late to remedy it. But such in truth is the disposition of the Romans. Hot and violent in their pursuits, they persuade themselves, that whatever they undertake must of necessity be accomplished : and that nothing is impossible, which they have once resolved to carry into execution. Their success has been often owing to this persuasion : though it cannot be denied, that on many occasions it has also proved the only cause of their misfortunes ; especially upon the sea. For in land engagements, where the contest only lies against the strength of men, and human preparations, this confidence alone will frequently force the victory to their side. Yet even in such conjunctures, they have sometimes been deceived in the event. But when they presume to encounter with the winds and sea, and challenge all the elements to combat, what wonder is it, if they are then involved

involved in the worst calamities. For such was now the punishment that befel their rashness: the same that in former times had happened to them: and which must again hereafter happen; unless they find some means to moderate that daring and impetuous spirit, by which they are persuaded, that both land and sea are at all times subject to their controul.

The destruction of the Roman fleet, together with the victory that had been obtained by land against them not long before, inclined the Carthaginians to believe, that they now should prove superior to the enemy both by land and sea. They resumed their preparations therefore with greater diligence and vigour than before: and in a short time afterwards, sent Asdrubal to Sicily; having added to his army the forces that were brought from Heraclea, together with a hundred and forty Elephants. They refitted also two hundred ships, and equipped them for the war. Asdrubal, being arrived at Lilybæum without any accident, exercised his troops and Elephants, and seemed resolved to maintain the field against the enemy.

The Romans having received a full account of the destruction of their vessels, from those that had escaped the storm, were sensibly afflicted for their loss. But being determined not to yield, they resolved to build another fleet, intirely new, which should consist of two hundred and twenty ships. And what will scarcely obtain belief, in three months time this vast armament was all completely finished, and sailed out to sea, under the command of the two new Consuls, A. Atilius and Cn. Cornelius. They passed the Straits; and being joined at Messana by the vessels that had escaped the storm, so that their whole fleet now consisted of three hundred ships, they directed their course towards Panormus, the most considerable of all the Carthaginian cities, in order to besiege it. They threw up works on both sides of the place, and planted their machines against it. And having with little difficulty battered down the Fort that stood nearest to the sea, they

they entered immediately by the breach, and made themselves masters of the New Town upon the first assault. The Old, despairing to make any long resistance, surrendered at discretion. The Consuls, having thus gained possession of the city, left in it a sufficient garrison, and returned to Rome.

In the following summer, the Consuls Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius sailed again to Sicily with all the fleet, and from thence steered their course to Afric. They made many descents upon the coast, but without performing any action of importance. But as they were sailing near the island Meninx, which is inhabited by the Lotophagi, and lies contiguous to the little Syrtis, their ignorance of the coast proved almost fatal to them. For as the sea was then at ebb, their fleet stuck fast upon the sands. In this distress, they had almost lost all hopes of safety. But some time afterwards, the tide suddenly returned when they least expected it, and freed them from the danger. For having thrown over all their baggage and heavy furniture, they at last set their vessels afloat again, though not without much pains and labour; and steering back to Sicily with great precipitation, cast anchor at Panormus. From thence as they passed the Straits, and were sailing on to Rome, with their usual disregard of every thing that might befall them, they were again attacked by a very dreadful storm, in which a hundred and fifty of their vessels perished.

The Romans were unable to support such great and repeated losses. And though their ardour was not slackened, nor their zeal in the least abated, they were forced by mere necessity to lay aside all farther attempts upon the sea, and depend intirely upon their land forces, for a happy issue of the war. They therefore sent the Consuls, L. Cecilius and Cn. Furius, into Sicily with the legions; equipping only sixty vessels, to convey provisions to the army.

On the other hand, these misfortunes seemed to open to
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the Carthaginians the fairest prospect of advantage and success. They were now sole masters of the sea, which was abandoned by the Romans. And with regard to the armies upon land, they began to be persuaded, and not without good reason, that their troops would prove superior to the enemy. For the Romans, having heard what horrible destruction the Elephants had spread among their ranks, in the battle that was fought in Afric, were so possessed with apprehensions of the fury of those beasts, that during the course of two whole years from that engagement, though they frequently fixed their camp within the distance of five or six stadia from the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Selinus and Lilybæum, they never once dared to venture on a battle, or even to trust their army in the plains. They reduced indeed the towns of Lipara and Thermæ: but during the siege of both, were always careful to post their troops in places that were steep and difficult of access. When the Romans saw, that so great dejection and dismay had spread through all the army, they resolved to change their measures, and resume their naval preparations. As soon therefore as C. Atilius and L. Manlius were elected Consuls, they built fifty ships, and began to make levies for the sea with the greatest diligence.

The Carthaginian General Asdrubal, having remarked the consternation that had of late appeared among the Romans, whenever their armies were forced to take the field; and being informed, that one of the Consuls had returned to Italy with one half of the troops, and that Cecilius was left behind at Panormus with the rest, to cover the harvest of the Allies, which was just now ripe; marched his army from Lilybæum towards Panormus, and incamped upon the frontier of the district. Cecilius saw the confidence with which the enemy advanced towards him, and, with design still more to heighten it, kept his army close within the city. Asdrubal, deceived by this appearance, grew bolder than before: and being persuaded

suaded that the Romans wanted courage to oppose him, advanced with his army through the passes, destroyed the harvest every where, and wasted all the country. The Consul still kept close behind the walls; till the enemy should have passed a river that ran near the city. But no sooner had the Elephants with the army gained the other side, than Cecilius sent against them a part of his light-armed forces, to harass the foremost troops, and constrain the Carthaginians to draw up all their army in order of battle. When this was done, he placed his light-armed troops before the intrenchments; with orders, that they should throw their javelins at the Elephants as they advanced, and, whenever they found themselves too closely pressed, retire back again to the trenches, and from thence sally out from time to time, and make a fresh discharge upon them. The combatants were supplied with weapons in great numbers by the artificers of the city, who were drawn up in order for that purpose at the foot of the walls. The Consul himself was posted with the legions without the Gate that looked towards the left Wing of the enemy, and sent away continual detachments to support the light-armed forces. As soon as the fight grew warm, the Leaders of the Elephants, in hopes of securing to themselves the honour of the victory, advanced with eagerness against the foremost combatants, turned them to flight with little difficulty, and pursued them close to the intrenchments. But the Elephants, being now exposed to all the fury both of the Archers from the walls, and of those that were posted in the trenches, who lanced their weapons at them without remission and with sure success, grew mad at last with rage; and turning back upon their own forces, trampled them down in heaps, and broke and dissipated all the ranks. Cecilius seized the time of this confusion, and advancing against the left Wing of the Carthaginians, with the legions which were still intire and disposed in perfect order, fell upon the enemy in flank, and soon caused a general rout. Many were
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destroyed in the place, and the rest forced to fly in great disorder. Ten Elephants were taken, with the Indians who conducted them. The rest, having thrown their Guides, were surrounded after the engagement, and were all likewise taken. After this great victory, it was confessed by all, that Cecilius by his wise and skilful conduct had infused new life and spirit into the Roman armies, and given them confidence once more to face the enemy in the field.

The account of this success was received at Rome with the greatest joy: not so much because the loss of the Elephants had weakened the Carthaginian army, as because a victory once gained against those Beasts had restored the courage of the legions. They therefore resumed their first design, and resolved to employ again a naval armament; and thus by exerting together all their strength, to bring the war at last to a conclusion. When all their preparations were completed, the Consuls with a fleet of two hundred ships steered their course to Sicily. It was now the fourteenth year of the war. They arrived at Lilybæum; and being joined by the legions that were there incamped, they prepared to lay siege to the city. For they had considered with themselves, that if they could once be able to obtain possession of this place, it would be easy to transport their forces from thence to Afric. The Carthaginians on their part penetrated into this design, and made the same reflections upon the consequences of it. Neglecting therefore all the other business of the war, they made haste to draw together their forces, and resolved to use their utmost efforts, to defeat the enemy in this attempt. For in their present circumstances, the loss of Lilybæum would leave them destitute at once of all resource: since the Romans already were possessed of all the other cities of importance in the island, Drepanum alone excepted.

But lest this part of the History should prove obscure and unintelligible to those who are unacquainted with the places
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of which we now are speaking, we shall endeavour, in few words, to give the reader some right conception of the manner in which the island and it's several parts are situated.

The whole of Sicily in it's situation bears the same respect to Italy, as the Peloponnesus does to the rest of Greece. But in this they are different; that the one is an Island, separated from the Continent by a narrow sea; the other a Peninsula, the approach to which lies along a small neck of land. The form of Sicily is triangular: and the Angles are so many Promontories. The first, inclining to the South, and extending into the Sicilian sea, is called Pachynus. The second, named Pelorus, and standing to the North, bounds the Straits upon the western side, and is distant from Italy about twelve stadia. The third, which is the Western Promontory, called Lilybæum, stands opposite to the shore of Afric; and lies commodious for passing over to those promontories which we before have mentioned, being distant from them about a thousand stadia. It also divides the seas of Afric and Sardinia.

Adjoining to this last promontory was a City of the same name, which the Romans were now preparing to besiege. It was secured by a Wall and Ditch, of a very uncommon strength and depth; and by standing Lakes, that were filled with the waters of the sea. And as the passage to the Harbour lay over these, it was not to be entered without the greatest hazard, by those that were unacquainted with the ground. The Romans incamped on both sides of the town: and having fortified the space between their camps with an intrenchment and a wall, began their first attack against a Fort that stood upon the shore, on the side of the African sea. By making their approaches without remission, and adding new Works continually to the former, they at last demolished six of the towers that stood contiguous to the fort, and prepared to batter down the rest. As the siege was

pressed with all imaginable earnestness and vigour, the towers already in part destroyed, and the rest so weakened as to threaten speedy ruin, while the enemy gained ground in their approaches every day, and advanced their works still nearer to the city, the Garrison within, though it amounted to full ten thousand men besides the inhabitants, were seized with the utmost consternation. But Imilco, who commanded in the city, by his pains and unwearied ardour gave no small resistance to the progress of the enemy; repairing every where the breaches; digging countermines; and transporting himself from place to place, hoping to find some moment in which he might be able to set fire to the Roman Works. For this purpose, he made many desperate sallies both by night and day; in which, greater numbers sometimes were destroyed, than even in regular engagements.

While things were in this condition, some of the chief Officers that led the mercenary troops formed the design of betraying the city to the enemy; and thinking themselves secure of the compliance of the soldiers, went privately by night to the Roman camp, and concerted the project with the Consuls. But a certain Achæan, named Alexo, who some time before had saved the town of Agrigentum from some treacherous attempts that were contrived against it by the Syracusan mercenaries, having made discovery of this treason likewise, informed the Carthaginian commander of it. Imilco presently called together the other officers; and having partly by his earnest exhortations and intreaties, and partly also by the promise of great rewards, engaged them to stand firm in the interests of the Carthaginians, he sent them to confirm the troops in their fidelity. To the Gauls he deputed likewise Annibal, who had long served among them. He was the son of that Annibal, who lost his life in Sardinia. To the other mercenaries he sent Alexo, who was held in high esteem and credit by them. These Generals, having assembled all the troops, and harangued

harangued them as the time required, and having engaged their own assurance for the payment of those rewards that were now promised by Imilco, prevailed with little difficulty, and checked all their inclination to revolt. When those therefore who had left the city were returned, and began to propose aloud the terms which they had brought, the Garifon were so far from embracing the conditions, that they even refused to hear them; and with stones and javelins drove back the traitors from the walls. Thus were the Carthaginians brought to the very brink of ruin by the treason of their mercenaries; and in this manner were they rescued by Alexo: whose virtue, as we have observed, had once before afforded the means of safety to the Agrigentines upon a like occasion, and preserved to them their city, liberties, and laws.

CHAP. IV.

DURING this time, no accounts had been received at Carthage of any thing that passed at Lilybæum. But being persuaded that the besieged must certainly be in want of some relief, they filled fifty ships with soldiers, and sent them away under the command of Annibal the Son of Amilcar, who was General of the Triremes, and an intimate friend of Adherbal. They exhorted him to use the greatest diligence, to take advantage of the first favourable moment, and to make some bold attempt to enter the city with his succours. Annibal soon sailed out to sea with all the forces, which amounted to ten thousand men; and casting anchor at Ægusa, between Carthage and Lilybæum, waited for a fresh and favourable wind. As soon as it began to blow, he spread all his sails, and steered his course directly towards the harbour's mouth; the troops being ranged in order upon the decks, and ready to engage. The Romans, surprized by an attempt so bold
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and unexpected, and being apprehensive also, that their own vessels might be carried into the harbour by the wind together with those of the enemy, stood fixed in wonder and astonishment, and made no resistance to the entrance of the Carthaginians. The multitude within the city ran together in crouds upon the walls; anxious for the event, but filled with joy at the sight of these unexpected succours, which they now invited and encouraged by the loudest cries and shouts. At last the Carthaginians gained the port, and safely disembarked their forces, without any opposition from the Romans: a circumstance, which afforded greater pleasure to the Lilybæans, than even the arrival of the troops themselves; though these were then so necessary to their affairs, and so greatly increased both their strength and hopes.

When Imilco saw, that both the former forces of the city, and those that were now arrived, were animated to a high degree of alacrity and confidence; the first, by reason of the relief which they had received; the latter, because they had yet encountered with no hardships; he resolved to take advantage of their present ardour, and endeavour to set fire to the Roman Works. He therefore called all the troops together; and having harangued them in such words as his design required, and promised great rewards to those that should perform any eminent and signal service, besides the gifts and honours which they might all expect in common from the State of Carthage, he raised their minds to such a point of courage and impatience, that they all with one voice cried out, that he should lead them against the enemy without delay. The General applauded their good disposition, and dismissed the assembly: having exhorted them to retire betimes to their repose, and hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders of their leaders. He then called together the chief among the Officers; assigned to each his several post; acquainted

acquainted them with the time, and signal, of engaging; and directed them to attend in the appointed places, with their respective Companies, by break of day.

These orders being carefully observed, the General at break of day led out his army, and fell upon the Works in different quarters. But the Romans, who for some time before had expected this attempt, and had neglected no precaution, were now ready with their succours wherever they were most required, and vigorously opposed the enemy. The engagement soon became general; and was maintained on both sides with the greatest obstinacy. For the numbers from the city amounted to twenty thousand men: on the part of the Romans, they were greater. And as the soldiers fought without regarding any order, every one in the place to which his inclination led him, the battle was on that account more fierce and terrible. For man with man, and rank with rank, engaged with all the fury and jealous emulation, that are found in single combats. But the clamour was far the loudest round the Works; and the dispute most close and obstinate. For those whose task it was to ruin and destroy them, and those who on the other side were posted there for their defence, maintained the fight together with so much steadiness and ardour, that while the one still laboured to advance, the other still refusing to give ground, it happened in the end, that both were alike destroyed in the places where they had begun the combat. But there were some among them, who, with flaming torches in their hands, invaded the Machines with so much force and fury, that the Romans, unable to repel their efforts, were reduced to great extremity. But the Carthaginian General, perceiving that his troops were destroyed in heaps, and that he had not yet been able to accomplish his design, commanded the trumpets to sound the signal of Retreat, and called off the soldiers from the engagement. Thus the Romans preserved their Works intire; even in the
very

very moment, when they were just upon the point of being utterly destroyed.

After this action, Annibal, leaving the harbour in the night, sailed out to sea with all the fleet, undiscovered by the enemy, and joined Adherbal who lay at Drepanum. This Town is distant from Lilybæum about a hundred and twenty stadia; and both on account of it's commodious situation, as well as for the excellence of the harbour, had always been considered by the Carthaginians as a place of the last importance, and was guarded by them with the greatest care.

At Carthage, the people were impatient to be informed from time to time of all that passed at Lilybæum; but knew not any method, by which their wishes could be satisfied. For the besieged were closely confined within their walls; and the port as closely guarded by the Romans. But a certain man of Rank among them, Annibal surnamed the Rhodian, engaged to sail into the harbour, and when he had seen the condition of the city, to return again to Carthage, with an account of all that they desired to know. His offer was received with joy, though the success was greatly doubted. But Annibal, having equipped a vessel of his own that was proper for his purpose, sailed and cast anchor near one of the islands that lie opposite to Lilybæum: and on the morrow, taking advantage of a brisk and favourable wind, steered his course through the midst of all the enemy, who stood astonished at his boldness, gained the harbour, and prepared to return again on the following day. The Consul, more effectually to guard the entrance of the port, got ready in the night ten of his swiftest ships; and himself with all the forces stood attentive to the motions of the Rhodian. The ten ships were stationed on both sides of the harbour's mouth, as near to it as the Shallows would permit: their oars being suspended in the air, and ready to bear them in an instant down upon the Carthaginian vessel. But the Rhodian, steering out of the port in

in the sight of all, insulting and embarrassing the enemy both by his boldness and agility in sailing, not only escaped unhurt through the midst of the Roman ships, which seemed to stand with design to let him pass; but when he had gained a little distance, he turned about again, and resting upon his oars, challenged the enemy to engage him. And when none dared to advance, by reason of the lightness and celerity of his vessel, he at last retired; having in one single Galley insulted and defied the whole Roman fleet. After this time, he went and returned continually, as often as occasion required; and rendered no small service both to the Carthaginians and the besieged. For as the first were by this contrivance punctually informed of all that was necessary to be known; so the latter were encouraged still to sustain the siege: while the Romans on the other hand were much disheartened. The Rhodian was encouraged chiefly in this bold attempt, by his perfect knowledge of the coast; which taught him in what manner he might best avoid the banks of sand that lay at the entrance of the harbour. For this purpose, having first gained the open sea, he from thence held on his course as if he had sailed from Italy: taking care to keep a certain Tower, that stood upon the shore, in a line so direct and even with his Prow, that it covered from his view the other towers, which looked towards the coast of Afric. And this indeed is the only route, by which a vessel, sailing before the wind, can gain the port in safety.

The example of the Rhodian was in a short time followed by many others, who like Him were well acquainted with the proper course of sailing. The Romans therefore, who were greatly incommoded by this proceeding, endeavoured to prevent it for the time to come, by choaking up the mouth of the harbour. But this was a task too difficult to be completed. For as the sea was very deep, the materials that were thrown into it would neither rest, nor hold together; but were presently

sently dissolved and washed away by the tides and torrents, even before they had gained the bottom. In one place however, more shallow than the rest, they at last threw up a Mole, after much pains and labour. A Carthaginian Galley, sailing out of the port by night, struck upon it, and was taken. As this vessel was built upon the most perfect model, the Romans, having equipped it with a select body of men, resolved to employ it in observing those that should hereafter steer towards the harbour, and above all the rest, the Rhodian. It happened, that in a short time afterwards he came in sight. He had entered the port the night before; and was now returning back again in open day. The Roman Galley pursued with eagerness, and attended closely to all his motions. The Rhodian soon knew the vessel; and fearing for the event, began to exert his utmost efforts to escape by flight. But finding that the enemy gained ground upon him, he was at last forced to turn, and try the fortune of a battle. The Romans, who were far superior both in the strength and number of their men, obtained an easy victory: and being now masters of this ship likewise, they fitted it with all things necessary; and from this time effectually secured against the Carthaginians the entrance of the Port.

The besieged were now employed without remission in repairing the breaches of their walls; but had thrown away all hopes of being able to destroy the Works of the enemy: when on a sudden a strong wind arose, and blew with so much violence, that it shook the Roman Galleries, and threw down the Towers that were built before them for their defence. Some of the Greek mercenaries, having reflected within themselves, that this conjuncture was highly favourable for ruining all the Works at once, communicated their sentiments to the General, who readily approved them, and gave immediate orders for the attack. The young men sallied out in separate bands, and set fire to three different quarters.

As

As the buildings, being old, were easily inflammable; and were now so loosened likewise by the wind, that both the Machines and Towers were shifted from their place; the fire soon spread with great rapidity and force. The Romans were struck with consternation, and knew not in what manner they might best resist the impending ruin. Terrified by an attack so unexpected, and blinded by the smoak and darkness, and sparks of fire, that rolled continually towards them, they neither saw nor comprehended any thing that passed: so that great numbers fell, without being able even to come near the fire. The more the Romans were incommoded, the greater also were the advantages of the enemy. For while the wind still blew against the faces of the former whatever could annoy or hurt their fight, the latter, who saw clear before them, were able to direct their aim with certainty, both against the machines and combatants; the wind also driving forwards every thing that was thrown, and giving greater strength and efficacy to the stroke. In the end, the destruction was so complete, that the Towers were all consumed to their foundations, and the Heads of the battering Rams melted in the fire. After this great loss, the Romans laid aside all thoughts of being able to reduce the place by their Works: and having thrown up an intrenchment round the city, and fortified their camp also with a wall, they committed the event to time. The Lilybæans on their part repaired their breaches; and resolved to expect with patience the determination of the siege.

As soon as they heard at Rome the news of this misfortune, and that the greater part of their naval forces had been destroyed, either in defending the Works against the enemy, or in the former business of the siege, they immediately raised new levies, which amounted to ten thousand men, and sent them away to Sicily. When they arrived in the camp, the Consul P. Claudius assembled all the Tribunes, and repre-

ſented to them, that they ought to ſeize the preſent moment, and ſail away immediately to Drepanum: “ where Adherbal, continued he, lies unprepared, and ſuſpecting nothing; is unacquainted with the arrival of theſe new levies; and perſuaded, that our loſſes in the ſiege have diſabled us from ſending out a fleet to ſea.” As this deſign was readily approved, he ordered the failors immediately to embark; both thoſe that were in the camp before, and thoſe that had lately landed; and added to them ſome of the braveſt ſoldiers from the legions, who were tempted by the ſhortneſs of the voyage, and the proſpect of aſſured ſucceſs, to make a voluntary offer of their ſervice in the expedition. When all his preparations were completed, about midnight he began the voyage, undiscovered by the enemy; and keeping the Iſland on his right, ſailed in cloſe order along the ſhore. As ſoon as it was morning, and the foremoſt ſhips had arrived in ſight of Drepanum, Adherbal, who had no expectation of this accident, was at firſt under great ſurprize. But when he had view'd them more attentively, and perceived that they were the Roman fleet, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts, rather than ſubmit to be inveſted in the place. Having aſſembled therefore all the naval forces upon the ſhore, and called the mercenaries from the city, he ſhewed them, in a ſhort harangue, with how great eaſe they might obtain the victory, if they had courage to engage the Roman fleet; and repreſented to them on the other hand all the miſeries of a ſiege, to which, if they now declined the combat, they muſt inevitably be expoſed. They all cried out at once, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy without delay. Adherbal commended their alacrity, and ordered them immediately to get on board; to obſerve the motions of his ſhip; and to follow cloſe behind, in the courſe which they ſhould ſee him take. He then ſailed away the firſt, and ſteered his veſſel along the rocks that lay oppoſite to that ſide of the harbour by which the enemy deſigned

signed to enter. When the Consul saw, that the Carthaginians were so far from being struck by his arrival, and surrendering to him as he had before expected, that on the contrary they were making all things ready for the combat, he ordered all his vessels to turn about again, when some of them were already within the harbour, others in the entrance, and the rest making sail that way. The ships that had gained the port, as they directed their course back again, fell against those that were now just entering, broke their oars, and occasioned great disorder. As fast however as they returned, the officers ranged them all in a line along the shore, with their prows turned towards the enemy. The Consul Publius, who at first had followed in the rear, was now carried out to sea, and took his station in the left wing of the fleet. But Adherbal, having passed this wing with five of his largest vessels, and gained the open sea, turned his prow towards the enemy. The rest of his ships, as fast as they came up, received orders to extend themselves in the same single line. As soon as they were all ranged in front, he gave the signal to engage, and advanced against the Romans, who still stood close along the shore, in order to receive their ships as they sailed back again from the harbour. But to this situation were chiefly owing the losses which they afterwards sustained. When the fleets were joined, the contest was for some time equal; being maintained on either side by the choicest of the legionary troops. But by degrees the Carthaginians drew the victory to their side, by the help of many favourable circumstances, in which they were superior to the Romans during the whole engagement. Their vessels were light, and swift in sailing: their rowers skilful and experienced: and lastly, they derived no small advantage from having ranged their fleet in battle on the side of the open sea. Whenever they were closely pressed, as they had full room to retreat, so were they able also by their swiftness to transport themselves at once out
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of the reach of danger. If the enemy advanced too far in the pursuit, they then turned suddenly upon them, and making their attack with vigour and agility, now upon the sides, and sometimes on the stern, sunk many of the Roman vessels, which being unwieldy by their bulk, and incumbered with unskilful rowers, performed all their motions heavily, and without success. When any of their vessels seemed ready to be mastered by the enemy, they advanced securely through the open sea, and by ranging some fresh Gallies in the stern of those that were engaged, rescued their friends from danger. But on the part of the Romans, every circumstance was contrary to these. When pressed, they had no room to retreat: for every vessel, that retired before the enemy, either stuck fast upon the sands, or was dashed against the shore. As their ships were also heavy, and their rowers destitute of skill, they were quite deprived of the advantage, the greatest that is known in naval battles, of sailing through the Squadron of the enemy, and attacking in stern the ships that were already engaged with others. Nor could they on the other hand send any succours, or support their own vessels from behind, as the distance was so narrow between them and the land. Such were the disadvantages under which the Romans laboured, through the whole engagement. Many of their vessels therefore were broken against the shore; and many stuck fast upon the sands. The Consul, with about thirty only that stood with him upon the left, withdrew from the engagement, and directed his flight along the coast. The remaining ships, in number ninety-three, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, together with all the men; a small number only excepted, who forced their vessels close to shore, and escaped the danger.

Thus ended the engagement; from whence the Carthaginian General reaped, among his countrymen, all the applause and honour that were due to his brave and skilful conduct:

duct : while the Romans on the contrary pursued with curses and invectives the Consul Publius, whose rash imprudence had brought such heavy losses upon his country, and, after his return to Rome, condemned him by a publick sentence to the payment of a heavy Fine.

The Romans, notwithstanding this defeat, were so fixed in their design to conquer, that they continued all their preparations for the war with the same ardour as before : and when the election of their Magistrates was past, sent L. Junius, one of the Consuls, into Sicily, with a convoy of sixty ships, to carry corn and other necessary stores to the army that invested Lilybæum. Junius arriving at Messana, and having there received some vessels that came to join him, both from the camp and from the other parts of the island, sailed soon afterwards to Syracuse. His whole fleet now consisted of a hundred and twenty ships of war, besides eight hundred Transports. Having given the half of these, together with a small part of the former to the Quæstors, he ordered them to sail with the provisions to the camp : while himself staid behind at Syracuse, to receive the ships that were not able to attend him from Messana, and to collect the corn which the Allies from the inland parts of Sicily were obliged to furnish.

About the same time Adherbal, when he had sent to Carthage the prisoners and all the vessels that were taken in the last engagement, joined thirty of his own ships to seventy others that were under the command of Carthalo, and gave orders to that General, to go and fall suddenly upon the Roman fleet which lay at anchor in the port of Lilybæum, to bring away as many of their ships as he could get into his hands, and to burn the rest. Carthalo, having received this commission, steered his course towards the harbour ; and entering it before break of day, he set fire to one part of the fleet, and made himself master of the rest. This accident
occasioned

occasioned no small disorder in the Roman camp. For while the soldiers ran together with loud cries from every quarter; to succour and save their fleet, Imilco, who commanded in the town, perceiving what was done, sallied out upon them with the mercenaries. Thus were they surrounded by danger on every side, and their consternation became complete.

The Carthaginian General, having taken one part of the vessels, and destroyed the rest, the whole amounting to no very considerable number, steered his course from Lilybæum towards Heraclea, with design to intercept the fleet that was sailing to the camp from Syracuse. Elated by his past success, he no sooner was informed by the Scouts whom he had sent before, that the Roman fleet, composed of a great number of ships of every kind, was arrived almost in sight, than he advanced in haste to meet them. The Romans, having received notice likewise of his approach, from the frigates that sailed at the head of all their squadron, and thinking it unsafe in their present circumstances to venture on a battle, directed their course towards a little town, that owned their jurisdiction; where, though there was indeed no Harbour, certain creeks, that were inclosed on every side by a kind of promontories which ran out into the sea, afforded a convenient shelter for their fleet. Having here disembarked their forces, and disposed in order some Catapults and Balistæ which the town supplied, they waited the arrival of the enemy. The Carthaginians, as soon as they approached, made haste to begin the combat; being persuaded that the Romans, upon the first attack, would abandon all their vessels, and take refuge in the town. But when their expectations were so far from being answered, that on the contrary they found a vigorous and stout resistance, and as the place was also in all respects disadvantageous to them, they were at last obliged to retire from the engagement, carrying with them a small number of the transports only: and sailing to the mouth of a certain river that
was

was near, they cast anchor there, and resolved to wait for the departure of the Roman fleet.

The Consul Junius, having now transacted his affairs at Syracuse, doubled the promontory Pachynus, and was steering his course to Lilybæum, ignorant of all that had happened to the Quæstors. The Carthaginian General, being informed by his Scouts of their approach, sailed out to sea with the greatest haste, designing to engage them before they could be joined by the other fleet. The Consul saw that the enemy approached fast towards him, and that their fleet was very numerous. Being unwilling therefore to venture on a battle against so great a force, and not able on the other hand to fly, because they were so near, he cast anchor upon a rough and dangerous part of the coast; and resolved to suffer every thing that might there befall him, rather than deliver up his ships and all his forces to the enemy. The Carthaginians, not daring to risk a combat in places so unsafe, cast anchor also near a certain promontory, which lay between the Roman fleets, and from thence observed their motions.

About this time, a most dreadful tempest was just ready to break upon the sea. The Carthaginian Pilots, who from their long experience, and their knowledge of the coasts, were able to foresee such accidents before they happened, advised the Commander to double the Cape Pachynus without delay, and shelter himself from the impending storm. The General wisely yielded to this advice; and having passed the promontory, though not without the greatest pains and difficulty, cast anchor in a place of safety. But when the storm came on, the Roman fleets, being quite destitute of shelter, and far removed from any harbour, were both so miserably wrecked and broken, that the account almost exceeds belief. For so complete was the destruction, that scarce a single Plank remained intire. This accident gave new life and hopes to the Carthaginians: for the whole naval strength of Rome, which

had already been greatly weakened by repeated losses, was now all at once destroyed. The Romans indeed were still superior in their armies. But on the other hand, the Carthaginians were sole masters of the sea; and their affairs by land were by no means desperate.

This great misfortune raised a general grief and consternation, both at Rome, and among the troops that invested Lilybæum. The siege however of this city was still pressed as closely as before; while all the necessary stores were carefully supplied by the Allies, and sent by land into the camp. The Consul Junius, who had escaped the storm, returned to the camp full of grief, and resolved to repair, if possible, by some signal and important action, the loss that he had sustained by sea. With this design, having conceived some hopes of taking Eryx by surprize, he so well improved the flight occasion that was offered, that he became master both of the City, and of the Temple of Venus that was near it. The Mountain Eryx is situated on that part of the Sicilian coast which looks towards Italy, between Drepanum and Panormus; but lies nearest to the former of these cities, and is most difficult of access on that side. It is the largest of all the mountains of Sicily, Ætna alone excepted. On the top of it, which is a level Plain, stands a Temple dedicated to Erycinian Venus; which in splendour, wealth, and beauty, is acknowledged to be far superior to all the other Temples of the island. Below the summit, lies the Town; the ascent to which is long and difficult. The Consul having placed some troops upon the top, and on the road that led to Drepanum, designed to act chiefly on the defensive, and was persuaded, that by guarding carefully these two posts, he should be able to keep possession both of the Town and all the Mountain.

CHAP. V.

AFTER these transactions, the Carthaginians appointed Amilcar, surnamed Barcas, to be their General in chief; and gave to him also the command of all the fleet. This was now the eighteenth year of the war. Amilcar, having drawn together the naval forces, sailed away to plunder the coast of Italy. When he had wasted all the lands of the Brutii and the Locrians, he then steered his course with the whole fleet to Sicily; and incamped in a certain place upon the coast, between Eryx and Panormus, whose situation was in all respects so advantageous, that an army no where could be lodged with more convenience or security. It was a rough and craggy mountain, rising from the plain to a considerable height, whose top was more than a hundred stadia in circumference. The lands beneath the summit were rich in husbandry and pasture; refreshed by wholesome breezes from the sea; and not infested by any noxious beast. On every side stood precipices, not easy to be surmounted: and the space between them was so strait and narrow, that no great force was required to guard it. There was besides an eminence upon the very top of the mountain, from whence, as from a watch-tower, every thing might be discerned that was transacting in the plain below. The harbour that was near it was deep and spacious, and lay commodious for all vessels, that were sailing towards Italy from Drepanum or Lilybæum. There were three ways only of approaching this mountain; two on the side of the land, and the other towards the sea. In this Post it was, that Amilcar had the boldness to incamp: throwing himself into the very middle of his enemies; having no confederated city near him; nor any hopes of succour beyond his own army. Yet even in this situation, he contrived to engage the Romans in many desperate contests, and distressed

them by continual alarms. Sometimes he sailed out with his fleet, and wasted all the coast of Italy as far as Cumæ. And afterwards, while the Romans lay incamped within five stadia of his army, in the district of Panormus, he waged against them, during the course of three whole years, an almost infinite variety of battles, which cannot particularly be described. For as in the publick Games, when two Champions of distinguished bravery and strength contend together for the prize, the strokes on either side fall so close and frequent, that neither the spectators, nor the combatants themselves, are able precisely to remark the direction, scope, and force of every single blow, though it be no hard thing to form a judgement upon the whole of the emulation, spirit, strength, and skill of those who are thus engaged; so in the present instance, it would neither be an easy nor a useful task, to recount the manner, or the aim, of all the various snares, contrivances, attacks, surprizes, which both sides practised every day; and from which, if known, the reader never could obtain so just an apprehension of the characters and conduct of the two Commanders, as from surveying the whole together, and attending to the final issue of the contest. In general, every stratagem which history has recorded, every invention which circumstances could suggest, or necessity require, every attempt to which the most impetuous and daring spirits could excite them, were all severally embraced and carried into practice. But no action passed that was decisive. For as the forces on both sides were equal, as their camps were strongly fortified, and at the same time separated from each other by a very moderate distance, hence it happened, that they were every day engaged in partial combats, without performing any thing that was complete or general. Great numbers fell in these engagements: but when either side were too closely pressed, they presently retired to their intrenchments; and from thence sallied out again upon the enemy.

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But Fortune, like an experienced Judge of combats, removed these champions not long afterwards into a narrower ground, and engaged them in a closer and more desperate fight. For while the Romans guarded Eryx in the manner before mentioned, by posting some troops upon the summit, and others at the foot of the mountain, Amilcar found means to gain possession of the City that lay between. The Romans on the top, being thus besieged, maintained their post, and encountered, with a most amazing fortitude, the dangers to which they were now exposed. On the other hand, the courage and the firm resistance of the Carthaginians were such as scarcely will obtain belief. For it is not easy to conceive, by what means they were able to sustain the efforts of the enemy, exposed as they were to their attacks both from above and from beneath, and having no way by which they could receive supplies, except one single passage which lay open to them from the sea. Yet notwithstanding these great difficulties, all the methods, both of art and violence, which especially belong to sieges, were practised in their turn by either party. And when they had exhausted the whole variety of attacks and combats, and been pressed by every kind of distress and misery, they did not at last decline the contest through weariness or weakness, as Fabius has affirmed; but both sides still remained unyielding and unconquered, till the war was brought by other means to a conclusion, two years after. Such was the condition of the armies, in the neighbourhood of Eryx.

If we stop now to make reflection upon the conduct and the various efforts of these two Republicks, we may properly enough compare them with those generous and valiant Birds, which, when they have fought so long together that they are quite disabled from making any farther use of their wings in the engagement, yet retaining still their courage, and exchanging mutual wounds, they at last unite by a kind of instinct in a closer combat, and maintain the fight together with
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their beaks, till the one or other of them falls beneath his adversary's stroke. In the same manner, the Carthaginians and the Romans, exhausted by continual expence, and weakened by the miseries and the losses which the war had brought upon them, were now reduced on both sides to the last extremity. But the Romans still maintained their firmness: and though they had for five years past abandoned all attempts upon the sea; partly by reason of the heavy losses which they had there sustained; and partly also because they were persuaded, that their armies upon land would alone be able to give a favourable issue to the war; yet when they found that all their expectations were likely to be frustrated, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of Amilcar, they resolved for the third time to make trial of a naval armament; conceiving it to be now the only kind of force, which, if conducted with dexterity and prudence, would end the war upon such conditions as their interest and their hopes required. Nor were they at all deceived in the event. They had twice before, as we have said, been forced to abandon all attempts upon the sea: once, by the shipwreck of their fleets; and afterwards, by the loss which they sustained in the fight of Drepanum. But having now once more resumed the same design, and gained the victory in one naval battle, they deprived the Carthaginian troops that were in Eryx of the means of receiving any farther supplies or succours from the sea, and thus gave a full determination to the war. This resolution was wholly the effect of that strong and ardent zeal with which the Romans then were animated. For the Treasury afforded no supplies, that were sufficient for the undertaking. But the generous sentiments and spirit of the chief among the citizens, and their earnest love of the Republick, enabled them to carry it into execution. For each particular man, or two and three together, in proportion to their wealth, engaged to provide a Quinquereme completely fitted and equipped; on condition only of being reimbursed,
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in case that the design should be attended with success. By this method they brought together a fleet of two hundred Quinqueremes, which were all built upon the model of that vessel that was taken from the Rhodian. With this new armament, the Consul C. Lutatius, in the beginning of the summer, sailed out to sea; and appearing suddenly upon the coast of Sicily, gained possession of the ports and bays of Drepanum and Lilybæum without resistance. For the enemy had sailed back to Carthage with their fleet some time before. The Consul advanced his Works against the town of Drepanum, and began to press the siege with vigour. But being at the same time sensible, that the Carthaginian fleet would soon return, and keeping always in his mind the chief design and purpose of the expedition, which was to end the war at once by a naval victory, he suffered no moment to be lost, but employed the sailors in such constant tasks and exercises as might best conduce to that design; and by training them in all the parts of naval discipline, he rendered them in a short time hardy and expert, and completely prepared for action.

The Carthaginians heard with great astonishment, that the Romans again appeared at sea. They immediately got ready their fleet; and being desirous to supply in the amplest manner the wants of the troops that were at Eryx, they filled their vessels with provisions and other stores, and sent them away under the command of Hanno; who sailed, and cast anchor at the island Hiera. His intention was, to arrive at Eryx undiscovered by the Romans; and when he had eased his ships of their heavy lading, and taken on board a sufficient number of the choicest troops, together with Amilcar, to sail back and engage the enemy. But the Roman Consul, informed of the motions of this fleet, and penetrating also into the views of Hanno, selected all the bravest of the legions, and sailed to Ægusa, an island that lay opposite to Lilybæum. He there harangued his forces, as the time required; and acquainted

quainted the Pilots, that he should next day offer battle to the Carthaginians. But when the morning came, observing that the wind blew fresh, and favourable to the enemy, but contrary to the course which himself was obliged to steer, and that the sea was rough and turbulent, he was for some time in doubt what resolution he should take. But when he had reflected within himself, that if he should now engage, notwithstanding all the roughness of the season, the contest would only be with Hanno and the naval forces, and with ships that were heavy and incumbered; but that, if by waiting till the sea was calm he should suffer the enemy to pass and join the camp, he must then be forced to encounter with troops selected from the army, with ships which would be light and easy in their motions, and above all the rest, with the bold and daring spirit of Amilcar, who was now become very terrible to the Romans; he at last resolved to seize the occasion, and to venture on a battle. As the enemy were sailing full before the wind, he made haste to get out to sea. The rowers, strong and dexterous, broke with ease the force of the wind and waves; and the vessels soon were ranged in a single line, with their prows turned towards the enemy. The Carthaginians, being thus intercepted in their course, take down their sails, and, after mutual exhortations, begin the combat. As the condition of the several fleets was now in all points different from what it had been in the former battle, it was reasonable to expect, that the event would be also different. The Roman fleet was built in a more skilful manner than before. Their vessels were not incumbered with any heavy furniture, except such only as was necessary for the fight. Their rowers had been exercised with so much diligence and care, that they were able to perform the greatest service. And in the last place, their soldiers, being all selected from the choicest of the legions, were men who knew not how to retreat or yield. But on the side of the Carthaginians, all things bore a different

rent face. Their ships were burthened with a heavy lading, which rendered them unfit for action. Their sailors were unpractised in their art, and such as had been hastily thrown together for the present voyage: and their troops were new raised levies, not yet acquainted with the terrors or the toils of war. For so strongly were they assured, that the Romans never would appear again upon the sea, that they had for some time past neglected all their naval forces. From these causes then it happened, that they were in every part defeated, even in the first encounter. Fifty of their ships were sunk; and seventy taken by the Romans, with all the men. But the wind, as if engaged to favour them, turning suddenly about in the very moment of their danger, filled all their sails, and carried the rest of the fleet safe back to Hiera. The Consul steered his course to Lilybæum; where his first care was, to dispose of the captive ships and men: a task, which gave him no small trouble; for the numbers of the latter amounted to near ten thousand.

This defeat, however great and unexpected, abated nothing of the former zeal and ardour of the Carthaginians: but they saw themselves at once deprived of all the means by which they could hope to carry on the war. As the enemy were masters of the sea, it was now no longer in their power to send supplies to the troops in Sicily: so that being forced, if we may so express it, to betray and abandon these, they had in truth neither General nor army left, on which they could at all depend. They sent therefore to Amilcar, and left to his discretion the care and management of the whole. The conduct of Amilcar in these circumstances was such as well became an expert and wise commander. While any prospect of success remained, or any reasonable ground of hope, he boldly attempted every thing, how full soever of hazard and of danger, that could distress the enemy; and rested all his hopes of victory upon the strength and vigour of his arms,

even more than any General that had lived before him. But when the face of affairs was changed, and all probable resources cut off and lost, he resolved no longer to expose his troops to danger; but wisely yielding to the necessity of the times, sent ambassadors to the Romans to treat of peace. For the part of a consummate General is not only to know when to conquer, but when also to renounce all hopes of victory.

The Consul, knowing that the Romans were on their part also weary of a war, which so greatly had exhausted the strength of the Republick, embraced the offer with little difficulty; and a Treaty was soon afterwards concluded in the following terms.

“ There shall be Peace between the Carthaginians and the Romans, with the approbation of the Roman People, upon these conditions. The Carthaginians shall relinquish every part of Sicily. They shall not make war upon Hiero; nor give any disturbance to the Syracusans, or their Allies. They shall restore without ransom all the Roman prisoners: and pay a Tribute of two thousand two hundred Euboic Talents of silver, within the course of twenty years.”

When the conditions were sent to Rome, the People at first refused to confirm the Treaty; and deputed ten Commissioners, to examine into the state of affairs in person. When these arrived in Sicily, they made no considerable alteration in the whole of what had been agreed: but only added to the Tribute a thousand Talents more; shortened the time allotted for the payment of it; and demanded also, that the Carthaginians should retire from all the Islands that lay between Sicily and Italy.

Such was the end of the War of Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans; when it had continued for the course of twenty-four years, without any intermission. A war, the longest in it's duration, the least interrupted in it's progress,

progress, and upon the whole the most considerable, of any that we find in History. For not to mention again the various combats, which have already been recounted, in one naval battle only, which happened in this war, five hundred Quinqueremes were engaged together in action; and in a second, scarce fewer than seven hundred. The Romans, in the course of the war, lost seven hundred Quinqueremes; if we reckon those that were destroyed by tempests: the Carthaginians, about five hundred. And now let those, who have been accustomed to contemplate with surprize the naval preparations and engagements of Antigonus, Demetrius, and Ptolemy, let them I say consider, whether the present War be not a subject far more worthy of their admiration and regard. For if we carefully reflect upon the difference between these Quinqueremes and the Trireme vessels that were made use of by the Persians in their expeditions against the Greeks, and afterwards by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in all their naval combats, it will very clearly appear, that no State or People ever brought so great a force upon the sea, as those that were engaged in the war before us. From this view of things we may also be convinced, that it was by no means an effect of chance or rashness, as the Greeks foolishly imagine, that the Romans had afterwards the boldness to attempt, as well as the power to reach, the conquest of the whole known world: but on the contrary, that having first been trained in a course of great and important actions, and disciplined for such an undertaking, they built their project upon very solid grounds, and such as gave the fairest prospect of success.

It will perhaps be asked, from whence it happens that the Romans, in all the present greatness of their power, and extent of territory, to which they have advanced their empire by the conquest of the World, are yet unable to equip so many ships, or send such powerful fleets upon the sea, as in former times. I shall endeavour to give a clear solution of

this difficulty, when I come to treat of the constitution of the Roman Government: a Subject, which I design to examine in it's full extent; and which will well deserve the closest attention of the reader. For besides that the matter in itself is curious; it has also hitherto been but little known, through the fault of those that have attempted to write concerning it. For while some of them were themselves intirely unacquainted with every part of this Inquiry, others have pursued it in a manner so perplexed and intricate, that no kind of satisfaction or advantage can be expected from their labours.

In the present war we may remark, that the same ardent zeal, the same designs, the same generous perseverance, and the same passion for dominion, animated alike both Republicks. The Roman soldiers indeed in all points of bravery and spirit exceeded those of Carthage. But on the other hand, the Carthaginian General, both in conduct and in courage, was far superior to any of those Commanders that were sent against him. This General was Amilcar surnamed Barcas, the Father of Annibal who afterwards waged war with Rome.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, both nations were involved in the same misfortune; and forced to employ their arms to quiet some domestick troubles. These were raised against the Romans by the Falisci; who were reduced however in the course of a few days only, and their chief city taken. But the Carthaginians were engaged in a war of much greater moment, against their mercenaries, and against the Africans and Numidians, who joined in the revolt. A war, which in the progress of it filled them with the greatest terrors and alarms, and threatened even the intire subversion of their State.

It will not be improper or unuseful, to rest awhile upon the subject of this War, and to recount in few words the chief

chief transactions of it. The task, for many reasons, well deserves our pains. For first, we may from hence be fully informed of the nature, circumstances, and whole conduct, of that kind of War which is usually called, Inexpiable. We shall likewise learn from the misfortunes which now happened to the Carthaginians, what foresight and precaution should be used, and what dangers apprehended, by those who employ mercenary troops: and also, how great the difference is, between a mixed assembly, made up of barbarous and foreign nations, and an army composed of those who have been educated in the discipline, and trained under the laws and customs, of their country. In the last place, the transactions of these times may serve to lead us to the true causes of that war, which Annibal made afterwards upon the Romans: and enable us to fix with some assurance what has been hitherto a matter of much dispute and doubt; not only among Historians, but even among the parties also that were themselves engaged in the war.

C H A P. VI.

AS soon as the treaty was concluded, Amilcar led the army from Eryx to Lilybæum; and there laying down his command, left it to the care of Gesco, the governour of the city, to send the forces back to Carthage. Gesco, having some kind of foresight and apprehension of what might happen, conducted the affair with great prudence and precaution. He embarked the soldiers in small divisions, and sent them away at different times; that the Carthaginians might be able to pay them their arrears as they arrived, and so dismiss them to their several countries, before the others joined them. This was Gesco's design. But the Carthaginians finding that their treasury was much exhausted by the late expences of the war, and persuading themselves that if the mercenaries were to be drawn together

ther and entertained for some time at Carthage, they might be prevailed on to abate some part of the stipend that had been promised them, admitted them all within the walls as fast as they arrived, and gave them quarters in the city. But when many tumults and disorders began to grow among them, and to break out both by night and day, being now in apprehension of some dismal consequences from the licentiousness and insolence of such a multitude, they were forced to intreat their officers to conduct them to a certain town called Sicca, giving to each a piece of gold for defraying their present wants; and to keep them there, till every thing was ready for the payment of their stipends, and the rest of the forces also arrived from Sicily. The soldiers readily agreed to this proposal of removing, but designed to leave their families and baggage behind at Carthage, as they had hitherto done; especially as they expected to return shortly back again to receive their pay. But the Carthaginians, fearing that some among them, detained by the caresses of their wives and children, whom a long absence had now endeared to them, might altogether refuse to quit the city, and that others, invited by the same tender motives, would make frequent occasions to return, and renew the late disorders, obliged them, in spite of all their wishes and inclinations to the contrary, to carry with them their families and all their goods. The troops, being arrived at Sicca, began to live according to their own discretion, without any controul or rule. They were now fallen at once into a state of ease and inactivity, from a course of long fatigue and hardship: a state, which ought by no means ever to be permitted among mercenary soldiers; and which is often of itself the principal and only cause of seditions.

During this time of leisure, some among them began to compute together the arrears that were pretended to be due; accumulating various articles without any shew of reason, and enlarging the sum beyond it's just amount. Others called
to

to mind the rewards which the Generals had promised to their services, in times of extraordinary difficulty and danger. Upon the whole, their expectations were raised to such a height, that when the rest of the forces had joined them, and Hanno, who presided over the affairs of Afric, being arrived at Sicca, instead of giving satisfaction to their hopes, began to enlarge upon the bad condition of the Republick, burthened as he said by heavy taxes, and an uncommon scarcity of all things, and requested them to abate some part even of that which was acknowledged to be due, immediately the whole army fell into discontent and mutiny. Meetings and cabals were formed, and assemblies held continually; sometimes of the troops apart, according to their several tribes and countries; and sometimes of all together in a body: while from the various and discordant mixture of different languages and nations, every place was filled with confusion, noise, and tumult.

If the Carthaginians, in filling their armies, as their constant custom was, with mercenaries drawn together from different countries, designed nothing more than to prevent conspiracies, and render the authority of their Generals more absolute and effectual, they may seem perhaps in this respect to have judged not unreasonably; for troops of this sort cannot easily unite together in factious counsels. But on the other hand, this practice must be allowed to be highly impolitick and rash, if we consider how difficult and desperate a task it is, to instruct, convince, or soften, the minds of an army so composed, when once their passions are inflamed, when hatred and resentment have taken root among them, and a sedition is actually begun. Under these circumstances, they are no longer men, but wild beasts of prey. Their fury will not be confined within the ordinary bounds of human wickedness or violence; but breaks out into effects the most terrible and monstrous that are to be found in nature. This was now experienced

perienced by the Carthaginians. Their army was composed of Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; of some from the Balearic islands; of spurious Greeks, the greater part of whom were fugitives and slaves; but chiefly of Africans. To assemble all these together, and harangue them with any good effect, was a thing impracticable; unless the General had been acquainted with all their different languages. And to address them separately by interpreters, repeating still the same thing four or five times over, seemed a task as difficult as the other, and not more likely to succeed. It remained therefore, to engage their officers to employ such intreaties and arguments among them as the occasion required. And this was the method that was now pursued by Hanno. But it happened, that some of these understood not what was said: while others, seeming to consent to, and approve of the instructions that were given them, repeated all things differently to the soldiers; some through ignorance, and some from malice: so that suspicion, doubt, distrust, and discord reigned through all. They suspected likewise, that it was not by accident, but with deliberate design, that the Carthaginians had deputed to them a man who was not present at any of their services in Sicily; instead of sending any of those Generals, who had been eyewitnesses of their exploits, and had promised them the rewards which they now demanded. At last, being fully inflamed against the Carthaginians, despising the authority of Hanno, and distrusting severally their own officers, they began their march towards the city with all their forces, amounting to more than twenty thousand men; and incamped at Tunis, which was distant from Carthage about a hundred and twenty stadia.

The Carthaginians were sensible of their imprudence, when it was now too late. They had been guilty of one great error, in drawing together to one place so large a body of foreign soldiers; while the forces that they were able to raise at home,
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were such as could not greatly be depended on, in case of any difficult emergency. But it was still more rash and inconsiderate, to oblige them to take along with them their wives and children, and all their goods; for these might have served as hostages, by the help of which the Carthaginians might have made the troops at all times tractable and compliant, and pursued in full security such measures as their interest required.

In consequence of these mistakes, they now were thrown into so great a consternation, upon the near approach of these enraged mercenaries, that they submitted to try every expedient that was likely to soften their resentment. They ordered all kinds of provisions to be conveyed to their camp in great abundance; and there to be disposed of, at such prices as the soldiers were pleased to fix. They sent continual deputations to them from the senate; promising to consent to all their demands, as far as their power would reach. But as this denoted the extreme apprehension and dismay with which the Carthaginians were seized, so it served only to increase the insolence of the mercenaries. Their demands rose higher every day. And so much were they elated by their past exploits in Sicily against the Romans, that they began to be persuaded, that neither the Carthaginians, nor any other people of the world, were able to stand against them in the field. No sooner therefore were the stipends settled upon their own conditions, than they made a new demand of some allowance for the horses which they had lost in battle. This being likewise consented to, they next insisted, that their appointment for provisions, which was now run into a long arrear, should be adjusted according to the highest price that corn had born during any part of the war. In a word, some new pretensions were every day suggested by the seditious that were among them; till their demands upon the whole were such as it was not possible for the Republick to discharge. The

Carthaginians however engaged to satisfy them to the utmost of their abilities; and at last prevailed to have the dispute referred to one of the Generals under whom they had served in Sicily.

Amilcar Barcas, who was one of these, was by no means agreeable to the troops: for as he never had been joined in any of the deputations to them, and had also shewn such willingness and haste to lay down his command, they considered him as in part the cause, that so little respect had been paid to their demands. But Gesco was a man, whom they all regarded with esteem and favour. He also had born command in Sicily; and had, upon all occasions, seemed attentive to their interests; but most particularly so, when he was intrusted with the care of embarking them for Carthage. To his decision therefore they readily consented to refer the whole.

Gesco, being furnished with such sums of money as were necessary, sailed away to Tunis. As soon as he arrived, he called together first the officers, and afterwards the soldiers by their several nations. And having reprov'd them for the past, enlarged upon the state and circumstances of the present times, and above all things recommended to them a better conduct for the time to come; conjuring them to look more favourably upon the Carthaginians, under whose pay they had so long born arms; he next applied himself to distribute among the troops, according to their several countries, the stipends that were due.

There was among them a certain Campanian, a fugitive slave, named Spendius; who was noted both for an uncommon strength of body, and for a spirit in war that was fearless and enterprising even to rashness. This man, being apprehensive of falling again into his master's hands, and of being put to death in torture, according to the Roman laws, employed his utmost efforts, both by words and actions, to prevent

prevent all treaty with the Carthaginians. There was also an African, whose name was Matho, who was indeed of free condition, and had served regularly in the army: but having been the chief incendiary in the late commotions, and fearing lest the punishment even of those disorders which others had committed should fall most heavily upon himself, he entered eagerly into all the views of Spendius, and resolved to pursue the same design. Having therefore assembled the Africans apart, he endeavoured to convince them, that as soon as the rest of the troops were satisfied, and dismissed to their respective countries, they alone would be exposed to all the vengeance of the Carthaginians; who would not fail to punish their revolt, in a manner that should strike a terror into all the states of Afric. These suggestions increased the rage with which they were before inflamed. And because Gesco only discharged the stipends that were owing, but reserved the allowance for their corn and horses to a distant time, on this slight pretence the soldiers ran together tumultuously in a body. Spendius and Matho harangued the assembly, in terms full of the bitterest accusation against the Carthaginians. These were greedily received, and attended to with pleasure: but if any other persons advanced to speak, the multitude, without waiting till they were informed whether their sentiments were contrary to, or the same with those of Spendius, instantly fell upon them, and destroyed them with stones. A great number, as well of officers as private men, lost their lives in this manner. The single word which they all in common understood was, KILL; for this was now become their constant practice: especially in their afternoon assemblies, when they were inflamed with wine. At those times, as soon as any one began to call out KILL, the attack was made so suddenly, and with so much fury from every quarter, that it was not possible for any to escape, who had fallen within their reach. This fury

having in a short time silenced all debate, Spendius and Matho were declared Generals.

Amidst all the madness and disorder, which had now taken possession of the camp, Gesco, preferring the safety of his country to every other consideration, and fearing lest the savage fury, with which these mercenaries were inflamed, should bring intire destruction and ruin upon Carthage, never ceased to expose himself to danger, but tried every remedy which care or vigilance could suggest: sometimes addressing himself to the officers apart; and sometimes calling together the soldiers of each several nation, and exhorting them to return again to their duty. But it happened, that when the Africans, in one of these assemblies, were bold and importunate in their clamours for the allowance for provisions, which they had not yet received, Gesco, in order to check their insolence, bad them go and demand it of their General Matho. This answer inflamed their minds to such a height of fury, that not admitting the least delay, they ran to lay hands upon the money that had been brought from Carthage, and afterwards seized on Gesco and his company. Spendius and Matho employed all their arts, to feed and keep up the rage of the soldiers; being persuaded, that if they could once be drawn to commit some violent and desperate action, a war must necessarily follow. The attempt succeeded: they seized the money into their hands; plundered the Carthaginians of their effects and equipage; and having ignominiously loaded Gesco and his companions with chains, threw them into prison; and from this time declared open war against the Carthaginians; in defiance of all the laws of justice and religion, and of the established rights of mankind.

Such were the causes, and such the beginning of the War against the foreign mercenaries, which is usually called the African War.

When Matho had thus far accomplished his design, he sent ambassadors

embassadors to all the cities of Afric, inviting them to join in this attempt, and lend their assistance towards the recovery of their common liberty. The greater part of these readily embraced the occasion, and raised large supplies both of troops and stores. The army then divided itself into two separate bodies ; and marched to lay siege to Utica and Hippo, two cities that had refused to join in the revolt.

The Carthaginians were deeply affected by this state of their affairs, which seemed to be almost desperate. What their own territory produced, was indeed at all times sufficient for the common occasions of the people : but all the publick necessities had constantly been supplied by stores and contributions drawn from the African cities ; and their battles were always fought by foreign troops. But now these resources not only failed, but were turned against them to their destruction. The misery too was more severely felt, because it had happened so contrary to all their hopes. Wearied and exhausted by the length, and close continuance of the war in Sicily, they flattered themselves that, after the conclusion of the peace, they should be able to enjoy some little repose and ease. But the event proved different : a war was ready to receive them, far greater and more terrible than the other. In the first, the only contest was for Sicily, against the Romans : the latter was a civil and domestick war, in which their country, lives, and liberties were all in danger. Besides this, they had no store of arms, nor any naval force ; for their fleets had been all destroyed in the late engagements. They had no method of procuring supplies ; no revenues to support an army ; nor so much as one single ally or friend, from whom they could expect assistance. Now were they sensible, how much more civil dissensions are to be dreaded, than a war maintained in a foreign country, against a foreign enemy. But these distresses were in a great measure owing to themselves. For during the late

late war, they had treated all the Africans with extreme severity: being persuaded, that the necessities of the times would justify their conduct. Upon this pretence, they exacted through the country one half of all the annual produce; and imposed a tribute on the cities, double to what was paid before the war. No favour or remission was ever shewn to any, how poor and indigent soever. Among the governours of provinces, such as were of a mild and gentle disposition, were held in no esteem at Carthage: but those were most caressed and honoured, who collected the amplest stores, and practised the greatest cruelty upon the country. Hanno was one of these. A people so oppressed wanted no persuasions to excite them to revolt: a single message was sufficient. The very women, who had often quietly beheld their husbands and their children dragged to prison, when they were unable to discharge the tribute, now met together in every city; and having solemnly engaged themselves, not to conceal any part of their effects, they brought together all their ornaments, and threw them into the common treasure: by which means Spendius and Matho were furnished with supplies in such abundance, that they not only paid the soldiers their arrears, as had been promised them in the beginning of the revolt, but were able also from that time to defray all the necessary expences of the war. So true it is, that in affairs of government, it is the part of prudence not to confine our views to the exigencies only of the present time, but rather to look forwards to the future.

The Carthaginians, though beset by so many evils, made haste to draw together new troops of mercenaries, and appointed Hanno to be their General; who some time before had been successful in reducing Hecatompylus, together with the adjacent parts of Afric, to the Carthaginian yoke. They armed likewise all the citizens that were of sufficient age; trained

trained and disciplined the Cavalry of the city; and refitted what was left them of their fleet; some Triremes, a few vessels of fifty oars, and the largest of their boats.

Spendius and Matho, being joined by all the Africans, to the amount of seventy thousand, had divided their forces, and were now laying siege to Utica and Hippo. They held also a strong camp at Tunis: so that the Carthaginians were cut off from all communication with exterior Afric. For Carthage is situated within a Gulph, upon a long tract of land, which bears the form of a Peninsula; being almost every way surrounded, partly by the sea, and partly by a lake. The Isthmus, which connects it with the rest of Afric, is about twenty-five stadia in it's breadth. At a moderate distance from the Isthmus, and on that side which is bounded by the sea, stands Utica: on the other side, upon the lake, is Tunis. The mercenaries, having gained possession of these two posts, and thus blocked up the Carthaginians within their walls, made frequent incursions both by night and day even to the very gates, and filled the city with continual terror and alarms.

Hanno completed all the necessary preparations with diligence and dexterity. This indeed was his peculiar talent: but his abilities in the field were wholly contemptible and mean. He wanted penetration, to discern the proper opportunities of action: and his whole conduct shewed him to be destitute both of skill and spirit. For though, upon his first march to Utica to relieve the siege, he obtained great advantages against the enemy, who were seized with terror at the number of his elephants, which were not fewer than a hundred; yet so far was he from improving this success, as he might have done, so as to gain a complete and decisive victory, that on the contrary, he endangered even the safety of those whom he came to succour. He had ordered Catapults and all the train of military engines to be brought

brought to him out of the city ; and sitting down at no great distance from the besiegers, he resolved to attack their camp. The elephants advanced with so much violence, that they soon broke through the intrenchments ; and the mercenaries, unable to sustain the shock, fled from the camp with the utmost precipitation. A great part of them were killed by the beasts : the rest escaped to an adjoining hill, that was rough and craggy, and covered with woods, and relied upon the strength of the place for their security. Hanno, who had been always used to fight against the Africans and Numidians, whose custom it is, whenever they are routed, to continue their flight for two or three days together, till they are quite removed from the place of action ; Hanno I say, imagining that the war was ended, and all danger past, abandoned at once all care both of the soldiers and the camp ; and retiring into the city, began to spend his time in luxury and ease. But these troops, who saved themselves upon the hill, had been trained under the discipline of the bold Amilcar : and during their campaigns in Sicily, had been accustomed to retreat before the enemy, even many times in the same day, and to return again as often to the charge. When they therefore saw, that the General was gone into the city, and that the soldiers, through confidence from their late victory, neglected to guard the camp, and were dispersed up and down without any care or caution, they suddenly returned, and marching in close order, forced their way through the intrenchments, killing a great number of the Carthaginians, and constraining the rest to save themselves by a hasty and ignominious flight. They became masters also of the baggage ; and of all the military machines, which Hanno had ordered to be brought out of the city, and which were now by that means lost. But this was not the only instance of this General's want of sense. For a few days after, when the two armies lay incamped very near each other in the neighbourhood of Gorza, though he had twice an opportunity

portunity of forcing the enemy to an engagement, and twice also of attacking them by surprize, yet so absurd and foolish was his conduct, that he suffered all these occasions to escape him.

At last the Carthaginians, seeing that their affairs were so ill conducted, made choice of Amilcar Barcas for their General, and intrusted to him the care of the war. The army consisted of seventy elephants; of such bodies of mercenaries as they had been able to draw together; of some deserters from the enemy; and of the Cavalry and Infantry of the city, which amounted to about ten thousand men. Amilcar, by the very first action which he performed, struck the enemy with inconceivable dismay and terror, and forced them to raise the siege of Utica. It was an action equal to the greatness of his past exploits; and such as fully answered the expectations which his country had conceived of him. The manner of it was as follows.

The extremity of the Isthmus, which joins Carthage to the rest of Afric, is secured by a chain of rough and craggy hills; over which there are roads made by art, which give access to the other side. Upon these hills Matho had taken care to place a guard, in every part that was commodious for the purpose. Every other passage from Carthage to the country was obstructed by the Macar: a deep and rapid river, that was scarcely fordable in any part; and which had only one single bridge across it. The mercenaries had built a town upon the bridge, and guarded it with the greatest care: so that it was not possible, not only for an army, but even for a single man, to pass without discovery. Amilcar, having carefully considered all these obstacles, and employed his thoughts on every probable method of surmounting them, at last put in practice the following expedient. Having observed, that as often as certain winds began to blow, the mouth of the river was always filled with sand, so as to afford a firm and easy passage over it,

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he made all things ready for his design, and waited for the time, without disclosing to any one his intention. The winds blew accordingly : and Amilcar, beginning his march by night with all possible secrecy, appeared on the other side of the river before break of day ; to the great astonishment both of the enemy, and of those that were besieged in Utica. He then continued his march along the plain, to attack the forces that were stationed at the bridge.

When Spendius saw what had happened, he made haste to meet the enemy, at the head of ten thousand men, from the town upon the bridge. About fifteen thousand more marched at the same time from the camp before Utica, to support the first. As soon as they were joined, they mutually exhorted each other, and advanced to the fight ; imagining that it would be easy to surround the Carthaginian army, and inclose them as in a snare. Amilcar was marching with the Elephants in front : behind these were the light-armed troops, and Cavalry : and last of all, his heavy forces. But when he remarked the impetuosity, with which the enemy advanced against him, he suddenly inverted his whole disposition ; commanding the troops that were in front, to wheel off and fall behind, and those that were behind, to advance and form the front. The mercenaries, imagining that this motion was the effect of fear, and that the Carthaginians already were preparing to retreat, quitted their ranks, and ran on briskly to the charge. But no sooner had the Cavalry faced about again, and come forwards to cover and support the rest of the forces that were standing in perfect order, than the Africans, astonished by a motion which they had not looked for, turned their backs and fled ; and fell back upon their own forces in great disorder. Many were destroyed in that confusion : but the greater part were trodden down in heaps by the Carthaginian Cavalry and Elephants. Upon the whole, about six thousand of them were killed, and two thousand taken. The rest escaped,

escaped, some to the camp before Utica, and some to the town upon the bridge. Amilcar, having thus gained the victory, pursued the enemy to the town; which they abandoned on his first approach, and retired to Tunis. He afterwards marched his army through the country; drawing many cities to submission, and reducing many more by force: and by this success he restored the courage, and raised the drooping spirits of his countrymen.

But Matho, who was at this time employed in the siege of Hippo, advised Spendius and Autaritus the General of the Gauls, to follow closely after the Carthaginians, and attend to all their motions; taking care only to avoid the plains, by reason of the Cavalry and Elephants: and keeping their route along the sides of the mountains, to wait their opportunity of falling upon the enemy, whenever they should be engaged in any difficulties. He sent likewise to the cities of Afric and Numidia, to solicit new supplies; and conjured them not to let pass the present occasion, so favourable for recovering their common liberty. Spendius, taking with him six thousand men from all the different nations that were at Tunis, together with the Gauls, who now amounted to two thousand only, the rest having deserted to the Romans during the siege of Eryx, followed the advice of Matho, and marched along the sides of the hills and mountains, waiting still upon the motions of the Carthaginian army. It happened, that Amilcar lay incamped in a certain plain surrounded on every side by mountains, when the expected succours also arrived from Afric and Numidia, and joined the army of the rebels. This threw the Carthaginians into the greatest consternation. The Africans had fixed their camp before them; Spendius with his forces lay on one side; and the Numidians were in their rear. The danger was so threatening, that there seemed to be no way left to escape it.

But while things were in this situation, a certain Numidian

Prince, named Naravafus, a man of a noble and generous disposition, and one whose inclinations had always led him to favour the Carthaginians, on account of former connections between his family and that people, and who was now the more confirmed in those sentiments by what he had heard of the great abilities and fame of Amilcar Barcas, considered this as a proper time for settling an intire and perfect union between himself and the Republick. He went therefore to the Carthaginian camp, attended by about a hundred horsemen; and advancing close to the intrenchments, stood boldly there, making signals with his hand. Amilcar, surprized at the appearance, sent one to inquire his business. He answered, that he desired a conference with the General. And when Amilcar seemed still doubtful and irresolute, as if suspecting some ill design, Naravafus, delivering his horse and javelins to some of the attendants, entered unarmed into the camp; with such an air of confidence and intrepidity, as struck the Carthaginians with astonishment and awe. They conducted him however to the General; to whom he declared, "that he was attached by inclination to all the Carthaginians, but more particularly sollicitous to obtain Amilcar's friendship: that he was therefore come to enter into treaty with him: to assist in all his undertakings; and to share in all his counsels, without deceit or fraud." The candour and sincerity that appeared in this discourse, together with the confidence with which the young man had at first approached the camp, gave so much joy and satisfaction to Amilcar, that he not only consented to admit him as a partner in all his counsels and designs, but promised also with an oath to give him his daughter in marriage, if he continued firm in his alliance with the Carthaginians. The agreement being thus concluded, Naravafus brought over to the camp the Numidians that were under his command, amounting to two thousand men,

As soon as Amilcar had received this reinforcement, he
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drew out his army in order of battle. Spendius likewise, being joined by the Africans, descended into the plain, and advanced to engage the enemy. The fight was obstinate : but the Carthaginians at last prevailed. The Elephants performed great service in the action : and Naravafus signalized himself above all the army. About ten thousand of the enemy were killed, and four thousand taken. Spendius, and Autaritus saved themselves by flight. When the action was ended, as many of the prisoners as were willing to serve among the Carthaginians, were received into the army : and Amilcar, having ordered the rest to be brought before him, informed them, that they should now be pardoned for all that was past, and be permitted to depart to what place soever their several inclinations led them ; but that if ever again they were found in arms against the Carthaginians, they must then expect to be treated with the last severity.

About this time, the mercenaries that were garrisoned in Sardinia, being encouraged by the example of Spendius and Matho, revolted from their duty ; and having shut up their General Bostar in the citadel, destroyed him and all his countrymen. The Carthaginians sent Hanno to reduce them with an army. But these troops also joined the party of the rebels : and Hanno, having fallen alive into their hands, was immediately nailed to a cross. They afterwards put to death all the Carthaginians that were in the place, by new and unusual tortures. And having seized upon the principal towns, they maintained themselves by force in the possession of the island. But some time afterwards, when they had engaged in some disputes against the people of the country, the latter drove them from the island, and forced them to fly to Italy for refuge. In this manner was Sardinia lost to the Carthaginians : an Island famous for it's size, fertility, and number of inhabitants ; and so fully celebrated on these accounts by many writers,

writers, that it is not necessary to repeat in this place what has already been observed and confessed by others.

Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, jealous of the effects of Amilcar's gentle treatment of the prisoners, and fearing lest the soldiers, seduced by that shew of clemency, should run to embrace the pardon that was offered, resolved to engage the multitude in some horrid and inhuman action, which might render their minds quite furious and implacable towards the Carthaginians. For this purpose, having called the troops together, they introduced among them a Courier, as bringing letters from the rebels in Sardinia. The contents of these were, to advise them to look more carefully after Gesco and his companions, whom they had seized at Tunis; for that there were some persons in the camp, who were concerting measures with the Carthaginians to set them free. Spendius immediately laid hold on this occasion to harangue the assembly. He conjured them to give no credit to the affected lenity of Amilcar: that his intention was not so much to save the prisoners whom he had taken, as to seduce by that shew of mercy the whole army into his power, that he might afterwards include them all in one common punishment. He exhorted them to guard Gesco with all imaginable care: that the escape of a man so eminent, and of such abilities in war, would not only make them appear contemptible to the enemy, but might also prove the intire ruin of their affairs; since if he once should find himself at liberty, he would not fail to turn against them, and become their most formidable enemy. He had scarcely ended, when a second Courier entered, as if sent from Tunis, with letters of the same advice and import. Upon this, Autaritus rose up to speak. He observed to them, that they could now have no view of safety, but in rejecting every thing that looked towards an accommodation with the Carthaginians: that in proportion as any were suspended in their thoughts by the
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the hopes of pardon, they must of course become less sincere and steady in the cause in which they were engaged. He advised them to place their only confidence in those whose sentiments were most severe and bitter against the Carthaginians; and to consider all besides as enemies and traitors. In conclusion, he urged it as his opinion, that Gesco, and the rest that were prisoners with him, should presently be put to death in torture: and that the same treatment should be also shewn to all the Carthaginians, who should from that time fall into their hands.

Of all the Chiefs, Autaritus was able to make the greatest impression in these assemblies, because he had learnt to speak in the Punic language; which the long continuance of the war had rendered so familiar to the soldiers, that they used it for the most part on all occasions of common intercourse and civility. His opinion therefore was received with general acclamations, and assented to with eagerness. Yet some of every nation, moved by the remembrance of the kindnesses which they had received from Gesco, came forwards in the assembly, and began to beg, that at least the torture might be spared. As they all spoke together, and each in the language of his country, they were not presently understood. But no sooner was it declared, that they were pleading against the punishment, and one of the assembly had called out, KILL, KILL them all, than they were instantly overwhelmed with stones by the furious multitude, and their bodies carried off by their companions, as if they had been slaughtered by some savage beasts. Spendius and the soldiers then took Gesco, together with the rest of the Carthaginian prisoners, in number about seven hundred; and having conducted them to a little distance without the camp, cut off their hands, beginning first with Gesco: the same, whom they had proclaimed not long before to be their benefactor and their friend, and chosen as the judge of all their wrongs and differences. They afterwards tore
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away the scalp from the heads of these unhappy men; and having broken and miserably mangled all their limbs, cast them still breathing into a pit together.

The news of this horrible transaction affected the Carthaginians with the deepest grief. They ordered their Generals Hanno and Amilcar to take some speedy and effectual vengeance upon the murderers of their countrymen. They likewise sent some heralds to those impious wretches, desiring leave to remove the bodies. But the rebels returned for answer, that they should from that time send neither herald nor ambassador to their camp, on pain of their being punished with the same cruel death. They also made a law for the time to come, by which it was resolved, that all the Carthaginians that were taken should lose their lives in torture, and their Allies have first their hands cut off, and be then sent back in that condition to the camp. And this was punctually observed and executed.

Whoever makes reflection upon these horrid cruelties, will easily be convinced, that if the human body is sometimes invaded by certain corrupt and ulcerous humours which resist all remedy, the minds of men are also not less liable to some disorders that prove as obstinate and fatal. And as in the former case, the very medicines which are designed to effect a cure, often serve only to inflame and irritate the parts to which they are applied, and even quicken the progress of the evil; yet on the other hand, if the disease be totally neglected, the corruption soon spreads itself through all the neighbouring parts, infecting every thing within it's reach, till the whole body becomes unsound: just so it happens to the mind, whenever it is tainted with those dark and malignant passions, which render man more impious and savage even than the beasts themselves. If you offer to men in this condition the softening remedies of clemency and pardon, they presently suspect it to be mere fraud and artifice; their diffidence grows stronger,

stronger, and their aversion to you is more deeply rooted than before. But if you resist their violence, and oppose revenge to cruelty, there is then no crime too horrible, no attempt too monstrous for them to engage in. They exult and glory in their impieties, and by degrees divest themselves of every sentiment and passion that distinguish human nature. It is not to be doubted, but that these disorders are chiefly owing to a bad education, and impure manners; though there are many other causes, which may sometimes assist to bring them on: among which none is so likely to be effectual, as the insolence and rapaciousness of publick governours. The truth of these remarks is evident from all that now passed among the mercenaries; and more particularly, from the conduct of their chief commanders.

Amilcar, being now in the highest degree incensed against the enemy, and finding himself too weak to encounter with their unbounded rage and madness, invited Hanno to come and join him: hoping by means of their united forces to put a speedy end to the war. And being persuaded, that nothing less than the entire extirpation of these wretches could bring the affair to any effectual conclusion, he ordered all those that should fall within the reach of the sword in battle, to be instantly destroyed; and such as were at any time brought prisoners, to be cast alive to the Elephants. The Carthaginians were now beginning to flatter themselves with better hopes, when on a sudden their whole prospect was fatally reversed. The Generals were no sooner joined, than they were found to differ from each other in all their sentiments. And to such a height was this dissension raised between them, that they not only neglected every fair occasion of doing hurt to the enemy, but even exposed their own troops to frequent attacks and losses, by their mutual jealousies and contests. The Carthaginians therefore were forced to send orders, that one of them should quit the army; but left it to the

troops to make the choice. It happened also about the same time, that the convoys that were sailing to the army from Emporia, a place from whence they usually drew their largest supplies of corn and other necessaries, were all sunk in the ocean by a storm. Sardinia likewise, which in times of danger or necessity had always furnished liberally to their wants, was now revolted from them. But the severest stroke of all was the loss of Utica and Hippo. For among all the African cities, these two alone had remained unshaken in their duty; not only in the beginning of the present war, but during the time also of Agathocles, and when the Romans invaded Africa: and had, on all occasions, served and supported the Republick with singular affection and fidelity. Yet now, they not only embraced the party of the rebels, without any kind of pretext or excuse, but shewed even an uncommon zeal and activity in the cause: expressing at the same time the most implacable enmity and hatred against the Carthaginians. They seized the troops that had been sent among them for their defence, which were not fewer than five hundred men, and put them all to death, together with their commanders, and cast them without the walls. Nor would they even grant permission for their bodies to be buried, though this was requested by the Carthaginians. This situation of affairs so much raised the hopes of Spendius and Matho, that they now resolved to lay siege to Carthage.

Amilcar being joined by Annibal, who was sent to command in the room of Hanno, whom the army had displaced when the differences between the chiefs were referred to their decision, marched his troops through the country, endeavouring to cut off all supplies from the enemy. In the execution of this design, Naravasus and his Cavalry were of great service to him: as indeed they were upon all occasions of the war. Such then was the state of the armies in the field.

But the Carthaginians, being thus on every side closely invested

vested by their enemies, were forced to have recourse to the states that were in alliance with them. Hiero, whose attention was fixed upon the war, had all along complied with every thing that was requested of him. But at this time especially, he applied himself to serve them with all imaginable zeal: as judging that his interest required him, in order to preserve his own dominions and his alliance with the Romans, to assist in saving the Carthaginians from destruction; lest the conquerors should become too powerful to be controuled in any future projects. In this he certainly was guided by the dictates of good sense and prudence. For these conjunctures are by no means to be slighted: nor ought we ever to permit any growing power to raise itself to such a degree of strength, as to be able to tear from us without resistance even our natural and undisputed rights.

The Romans also punctually observed the terms of the late treaty which they had made with Carthage, and espoused their interests with zeal. At first indeed an accident had happened, which threatened to embroil anew the two Republicks. Some persons, sailing from the ports of Italy to Afric, had conveyed supplies to the camp of the mercenaries. The Carthaginians seized on these, who were in number about five hundred, and threw them into prison. The Romans were greatly offended at this proceeding: but as the men were all immediately released again upon the first demand, they were so much pleased and softened by that compliance, that they not only sent back all the Carthaginian prisoners that were left from the Sicilian war, but from that time chearfully assisted the Republick with every office of humanity and friendship. They gave permission to their merchants to export all kinds of necessaries to Carthage; at the same time prohibiting them from carrying any to the enemy. They refused to invade Sardinia, though invited to it by the mercenaries that had revolted there. And when the inhabitants of Utica offered to put

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them in possession of that city, they rejected the proposal, and adhered religiously to their treaty. By the help of all these succours, the Carthaginians were enabled to sustain the siege; while Spendius and Matho were themselves no less besieged: for Amilcar had intercepted all provisions from their camp; and at last reduced them to such extremity, that they were forced to raise the siege.

Some time afterwards, these Generals, having drawn together the bravest of their forces, to the number of fifty thousand, among whom was Zarxas an African with the troops under his command, resumed their first design, of following Amilcar closely in all his marches, and attending to the motions of his army. Their chief care was, to avoid the plains, from apprehensions of the Elephants and Cavalry: and to possess themselves, before the enemy, of all the mountainous defiles and narrow passes. In acts of courage and enterprising boldness, they shewed themselves to be in no point inferior to the Carthaginians: but their want of skill was often fatal to them. Upon this occasion, the difference was clearly seen, between a conduct that is built upon the rules of military science, and an irregular and unskilful method of making war. For Amilcar would sometimes contrive to separate small bodies from their army, and like an artful Chess-player inclosing them on every side, by that means destroy them. Sometimes, when his motions seemed to promise a general engagement, he drew them into ambuscades of which they had no suspicion. In a word, he was ever ready to attack them both by night and day, when they least expected his approach. Great numbers of them were thus destroyed: and as many as were taken alive, were thrown to the Elephants. At last, coming upon them by surprize, he fixed his camp near them in a place that was very proper for his own forces, but incommodious to the rebels. In this situation, not daring to risk a battle, nor able to escape, by reason of the intrenchments

ments which Amilcar had extended round them, they were reduced to so great extremity by famine, that they were forced to feed upon each other: as if the Deity had designed to inflict a punishment upon them, that might be equal in it's horror and impiety to the crimes which they had committed against their fellow-creatures. But if they wanted courage to venture on an engagement, in which they were sure of being defeated, and exposed to a cruel punishment if taken, they were much less able to entertain any thoughts of treaty or accommodation, when they reflected upon their past transactions. Their only hopes were in the succours which they expected would arrive from Tunis: for with this hope their Chiefs continued still to flatter them. Under this assurance, they submitted yet for some time longer to practise this horrible barbarity against each other. But when they had impiously devoured all their prisoners and slaves, and no succours were arrived, the multitude grew impatient of their misery, and began to threaten their Chiefs. Spendius therefore, with Autaritus and Zarxas, resolved to go themselves to the enemy, and treat of peace. Having first dispatched a herald, and obtained a safe conduct, they went accordingly to the Carthaginian camp, and concluded a treaty with Amilcar upon these conditions: "That the Carthaginians should choose from among the enemy ten persons, whomsoever they thought proper; and that the rest should be dismissed, each with his single garment." Amilcar then said, that in consequence of the treaty, he made choice of those that were there present. Thus the Carthaginians got into their power Spendius and Autaritus, and the rest of their officers of greatest eminence.

The Africans, who were ignorant of the terms of the treaty, no sooner found that their Chiefs were made prisoners, than they ran tumultuously to arms, in order to resent the supposed treachery. But Amilcar surrounding them with the Elephants, utterly destroyed them all, to the amount of more than forty thousand

thousand men. The place where this action happened was called, the *Saw*; because it's figure somewhat resembled that instrument. By this victory, Amilcar raised the hopes of his countrymen a second time, when they had almost begun to despair of safety. He then marched through the country, with Annibal and Naravafus: and having received the Africans, who were ready every where to submit, and recovered most of the principal towns to their party, they next advanced to lay siege to Tunis, into which Matho had retired with all his forces.

Annibal fixed his camp before the city, on that side of it which looked towards Carthage; while Amilcar posted himself on the opposite side. They then took Spendius, and the rest of the prisoners, and carrying them near the walls, crucified them there, in sight of the enemy. But Matho, perceiving that Annibal, elated by the past success, was remiss and negligent in his post, sallied out upon him, and attacking the intrenchments, killed a great number of the Carthaginians, and forced the rest to fly out of the camp. All the baggage was lost, and Annibal himself taken prisoner. This last was immediately conducted to the cross of Spendius, and fixed alive upon it; after he had first been forced to suffer the most cruel torments. They killed also thirty of the noblest Carthaginians round Spendius's body. As if fortune had taken unusual pains, to afford alternately to either party, the means of retaliating upon the other by the most inhuman methods of revenge.

The distance of the two camps prevented Amilcar from being informed in time of what had happened. Nor was he able, when he knew it, to send any succours, by reason of the difficulties of the way that lay between. He therefore immediately decamped, and marching along the Macar, sat down near the mouth of that river.

The Carthaginians, had just begun to recover new life, and were

were entertaining better hopes, when this unhappy affair threw them again into no small dejection and amazement. They did not however neglect the care of their safety: but choosing thirty of the Senators, they sent them away to Amilcar, together with Hanno the former General, and all the citizens that were left of age to bear arms: so that this was considered as their last and only effort. They earnestly recommended it to the Senators, to use all their power to reconcile the Generals, and to engage them to regard only the exigencies of the Republick, and act together with such harmony as the state of affairs required. After many conferences and debates, this was at last effected. Hanno and Amilcar were constrained to agree in sentiments; and yielded up their differences to the publick good. From this time, all things went prosperously for the Carthaginians: who gained continually some advantage over the enemy, in a variety of little combats, ambuscades, pursuits, both in the neighbourhood of Leptis, and in other places; till Matho, finding himself so greatly harassed and distressed, was determined to engage in a decisive action. The Carthaginians, on their side, shewed no less eagerness. Both parties therefore summoned all their allies; recalled their garrisons from the towns; and resolved to risk the whole upon a single battle. When all things were ready, the Generals by agreement drew out their forces, and the fight began. The victory was on the side of the Carthaginians. The greatest part of the Africans were killed in the action: the rest escaped to a certain city that was near, but surrendered themselves in a short time after. Matho was taken prisoner. All the parts of Afric soon submitted to the conquerors, except the cities of Utica and Hippo: which alone were forced to disclaim all thoughts of peace, because their past behaviour had left them no hopes of pardon. Of such importance is it, in dissensions of this kind, to observe a moderate conduct, and abstain from all such excesses as are too great

great for mercy. But no sooner had Hanno invested one of them, and Amilcar the other, than they were forced to surrender at discretion. Thus the war, which had threatened intire destruction to the Carthaginians, was now ended in reducing all the parts of Afric to their former obedience, and in punishing the authors of it: for the Youth of the city, after they had led the prisoners in triumph, inflicted upon Matho and the rest every kind of indignity and torture that invention could contrive.

Such was the conclusion of the War between the Carthaginians and their mercenaries, after a continuance of three years, and about four months: a war, by far the most impious and bloody, of any that we find in History.

About this time the Romans, invited, as we have already mentioned, by the mercenaries that had revolted in Sardinia, resolved to take possession of that Island. And when the Carthaginians began to shew their resentment of this proceeding, and were preparing to oppose by force the rebels that had thus robbed them of their rights, the Romans presently declared war against them; pretending that their preparations were not so much designed against the people of Sardinia, as against themselves. The Carthaginians, who had been just before delivered, when they least expected it, from a most dreadful war, and were by no means able in their present circumstances to contend against the Romans, yielded to the necessity of the times; and not only gave up Sardinia, but consented also to pay twelve hundred Talents, rather than be involved in a war, which they were too weak at that time to sustain.

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THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Second. CHAP. I.

WE shewed in the preceding Book, at what time it was, that the Romans, after they had fully settled the affairs of Italy, began first to extend their views abroad; the manner in which they passed over into Sicily; and the reasons that induced them to declare war against the Carthaginians, in order to drive them from that Island. We took notice also of the time in which they first employed a Naval armament: and recounted all that happened to the two Republicks in the progress of the war; in the end of which the Carthaginians were forced to abandon Sicily, and leave to the Romans the sovereignty and possession of all the island, those parts alone excepted which belonged to Hiero. We next related, in what manner the Carthaginian mercenaries revolted from their duty, and kindled that which was called the African War. We saw to how monstrous a height their impieties were raised; with all the unnatural excesses, and dreadful circumstances

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that attended them: till the Carthaginians became at last superior to their enemies. We now go on, to give a concise and general abstract of the chief events which followed these transactions, agreeably to our first design.

As soon as the Carthaginians had quieted their domestick troubles, they sent Amilcar Barcas with an army into Spain. Amilcar, taking with him Annibal his son, who was then about nine years old, passed the Straits between the Pillars of Hercules, and in the course of almost nine years which he spent in that country, greatly extended the dominions of the Republick; reducing many different nations to the Carthaginian yoke, some by persuasion, and some by force; and at last ended his life in a manner worthy of his former great exploits. For being engaged in battle with a certain people, distinguished by their bravery and strength, and who had brought a very numerous army against him into the field, he fell nobly in the action, after he had shewn amazing proofs of hardiness and courage. The Carthaginians made choice of Asdrubal to succeed him; who was General of the Triremes, and nearly allied in blood to Amilcar.

About this time it was, that the Romans prepared to invade Illyria, and for the first time sent their armies into those parts of Europe. An event, which must be carefully considered and attended to, by those who are inclined to enter into our design, and comprehend in it's whole extent the gradual progress and advancement of the greatness of this Empire. This expedition then owed it's birth to the cause which I am going to relate.

Agron, King of Illyria, the son of Pleuratus, whose forces both by land and sea were greater than those of any of his predecessors, was gained with large sums of money by Demetrius the Father of Philip, to send relief to the Mydionians, who were besieged by the Ætolians. For when the Ætolians had employed in vain all the methods of persuasion, to prevail

vail upon this people to unite themselves to their Republick, they resolved to subdue them to their laws by force. Having therefore drawn together a numerous army, they invested the city, and pressed it closely; employing against it all kinds of Machines, and every method of attack. When the place, reduced to great extremity, was every day expected to surrender, the Prætor of the Ætolians, reflecting that the time was also drawing near in which the Magistrates were usually elected, and that his place must soon be yielded to a successor, called together an assembly of the people, and represented to them, that as he had all along sustained the chief fatigue and burthen of the siege, it was highly reasonable that he alone should possess the right of distributing the spoil, and the honour of having his name inscribed upon the Trophies, whenever the city should be taken. But as this motion was opposed by many, and especially by those who had any hopes of gaining the Prætorship for themselves, who insisted that no judgement should be given before the event, but the whole be reserved intire, till they should see upon whom fortune intended to bestow that honour; it was at last resolved, that if the new Magistrate should take the city, the Distribution of the spoil, and the Inscription of the Trophies, should be adjudged to Him in conjunction with the Prætor of the former year.

When the affair was thus determined, and the very following day was the time appointed for the new Prætor to be elected and to enter into his office, according to the custom of the Ætolians; a hundred Barks, having on board five thousand Illyrians, arrived in the night, and cast anchor as near the city as was possible. At break of day, the troops were disembarked in great haste and silence: and having ranged themselves in order of battle after the manner of their country, they marched, divided into cohorts, towards the camp of the enemy. The Ætolians were thrown at first into some kind

of consternation, by an attempt so bold and hardy, and which they had not in the least expected. But that spirit of arrogance and haughty fierceness, by which this people had been long distinguished, and their confidence in the strength and number of their forces, soon took place, and in some degree dispelled their fears. They drew up the greater part of the Cavalry, together with the heavy-armed troops, upon the plain before their camp: and having at the same time possessed themselves of certain eminencies that stood commodious for the action, they posted the rest of the Cavalry upon them, with the light-armed forces. But these, being first attacked, were not able to stand against the numbers and close order of the enemy; who dispersed them with little difficulty, and forced the Cavalry also to retreat back to the heavy-armed troops. The Illyrians then came pouring down with violence from the eminencies upon the troops that were drawn up in battle on the plain: and being at the same time assisted by the Mydionians from the town, they made their attack with such success, that the Ætolians were completely routed. Many of them were killed in the action; and a greater number taken, together with all the arms and baggage. When the Illyrians had thus happily executed the orders of their King, they loaded their vessels with the spoils, and steered their course back again towards their own country.

The Mydionians, having obtained their safety in a manner so strange and unexpected, called together an assembly of the people, and, among other publick Resolutions, made also a Decree concerning the Inscription of the Trophies; in which, following the example of the Ætolians, they adjudged it in common to the Prætor that was then in office, and to those who should afterwards be elected to it: as if Fortune had designed to give a most conspicuous proof of her power in all human affairs, by thus enabling the Mydionians to retort upon their enemies the very act and manner of disgrace, which but
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a little time before had been decreed against themselves. What happened now to the Ætolians, may serve also to instruct us, never to deliberate upon the future as if it were already arrived, nor build any certain expectations on events, which perhaps may take a very contrary turn from what at first they seem to promise; but in all human affairs, and especially in those that relate to war, to leave always some room to fortune, and to accidents which cannot be foreseen.

When the fleet was returned to Illyria, and had given an account to the King of their success, Agron, being overjoyed that his troops had given some check to the insolence and haughty spirit of the Ætolians, indulged himself in feasts and banquets to so great excess, that he was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died in a few days after. His wife Teuta took possession of the kingdom, and governed it with the assistance of her friends. This Queen, who in her disposition was a perfect woman, dazzled with the splendour of the late success, and utterly regardless of all the States around her, at first permitted private men among her subjects to fit out ships for piracy: and afterwards, having drawn together a very considerable fleet, with an army not inferior to that which was employed in the former expedition, she gave commission to her Generals, to exercise hostilities upon every nation without reserve. Their first descent was made upon the coasts of Elis and Messenia: which were indeed at all times more exposed to insults from the Illyrians, than any other countries. For as their coast was of great extent, and their principal towns also situated far within the land, it was easy for the enemy to over-run and lay waste the country, before any effectual succours could be sent to their relief. At this time it happened, that the Illyrians had one day advanced as far as to Phœnice, a town of Epirus, in search of provisions: and finding there a body of Gallic troops, in number about eight hundred, whom the Epirots had retained in their service, they immediately

immediately began to concert measures with them for surprizing the town. The Gauls soon consented to the project; and the Illyrians, having landed their troops, and being joined by the soldiers of the garrison, made themselves masters of the place upon the first assault.

As soon as the Epirots received the news of what had happened, they drew together an army with great diligence: and marching towards Phœnice, they there incamped, having in their front the river that runs before the town; and for their greater safety, they removed the planks of the bridge that was upon it. Being afterwards informed, that Scerdilaidas was advancing by land against them, at the head of five thousand Illyrians, and that he designed to take his route along the passes of Antigonía, they sent away one part of their army to secure that city: while the rest lay quiet in their post; indulging themselves in full security in the plenty of the country, and neglecting even to place the necessary guards about the camp. The Illyrians, having heard of the division which the enemy had made of their forces, and of the negligence that now reigned among them, began their march by night, and laying planks across the bridge, passed the river without resistance: and having possessed themselves of a strong and advantageous post, they continued there till break of day. In the morning, both armies drew up their forces in order of battle, in sight of the town. The Epirots were defeated in the engagement; many of them being killed, and a greater number taken prisoners. The rest directed their flight towards Atintania, and escaped.

The Epirots, after this ill success, finding themselves too weak to repel the enemy, and recover what they had lost, implored assistance from the Ætolians and Achæans; who, in compassion to the desperate state of their affairs, raised an army for their relief, and marched toward Helicranum. The Illyrians that had seized Phœnice, being now joined by the
troops

troops that were brought by Scerdilaidas, came also to the same place, intending to offer battle to the enemy. But as the ground was not commodious for their design, and because they had about this time also received letters from the Queen, pressing them to return with all possible diligence, to reduce some towns that had revolted to the Dardanians, they wasted all the province, and afterwards consented to make peace with the Epirots; restoring their city to them for a sum of money, and releasing all the inhabitants that were free. And having sent the slaves on board their vessels, together with the rest of the booty, they sailed away to Illyria: while Scerdilaidas, with the troops that were under his command, took his route back again through the passes of Antigonía. The success of this invasion struck no small terror into all the Greeks that inhabited the coast. For when they saw that the strongest and most powerful town of all Epirus had fallen so suddenly into the hands of the enemy, they no longer trembled for their lands and country only, as in former times; but began to fear, that there would now be no security either for themselves or any of their cities.

The Epirots, thus rescued from destruction when they had scarcely any hopes of safety left, were so far from shewing any resentment of the injuries which they had suffered, and so forgetful likewise of what they owed to their deliverers, that they sent ambassadors to Teuta, and, in conjunction with the Acarnanians, entered into an alliance with her. And from this time they constantly supported and assisted the Illyrians, in opposition to all the interests of the Achæans and Ætolians: affording, by this declared ingratitude towards their friends and benefactors, a no less signal instance of their want of sense and judgement, than that which had appeared in their former conduct. Whenever we fall into any of those calamities which are naturally incident to mankind, and from which no care or foresight could have saved us, the fault is
justly

justly charged on fortune, or an enemy. But when our sufferings are purely the result of our own indiscreet and foolish conduct, the blame can only be imputed to ourselves. And as the strokes of fortune usually excite the pity of mankind, who seem willing to partake in our distresses, and are ready to lend us their assistance; so on the other hand, an open and deliberate folly cannot fail to draw after it the censure and reproaches of all who view it in it's proper light. And this was plainly the treatment, which the Epirots at this time merited in the eyes of Greece. For in the first place, the common and well-known character of the Gauls might have rendered them more cautious of intrusting any of that nation with the defence of a noble city, whose wealth and flourishing condition must continually tempt them by strong incitements to revolt. But this body of troops especially were men, whose temper and designs deserved to have been watched with more than ordinary care. For they not only had been driven from their country by the people of their own nation, on account of some acts of treachery and violence, which they had committed against their kindred and common tribes; but when the Carthaginians, who were at that time pressed by the war of Sicily, had received about three thousand of them into their pay, and stationed them in Agrigentum, they took occasion, from some dissensions that arose between the soldiers and their chief commanders on the subject of their pay, to pillage that very city, which they had been engaged to protect and guard from insult. Being afterwards in garrison at Eryx, while the Romans were-besieging it, they formed a project for delivering up the town and inhabitants to the enemy: and when the treason was discovered, they went over in a body to the Roman camp. Yet among these also, they not long afterwards betrayed their trust; and plundered the temple of Erycinian Venus. As soon therefore as the war was ended, the Romans, having seen such proofs of their abandoned

done profligacy, stripped them of their arms, and putting them on board some vessels, banished them all out of Italy. These were the troops, to whom the Epirots now committed the defence of their government and country; and trusted the most flourishing of all their cities to their care: so that in justice, themselves alone must be considered as the chief and only cause of the misfortunes that ensued. A conduct so repugnant to all sense and reason deserved not to pass without some reflection: and it may serve hereafter as a caution to all States, never to admit too strong a garrison within their cities, especially if it be composed of strangers and barbarians.

The Illyrians had in former times very frequently molested vessels that were sailing from the ports of Italy. But while they held possession of Phœnice, they sent out large detachments from their fleet, and made depredations every where upon the Roman merchants: killing great numbers of them, and carrying many into slavery. The Romans had hitherto paid no great regard to the complaints that had been offered on this subject. But at this time these complaints were brought in such numbers to the Senate, that they resolved to send Caius and Lucius Coruncanius ambassadors to Teuta, to demand some clear account of these transactions.

The Queen, when she saw the beauty and immense quantity of the spoils which her fleet had brought back from Phœnice, the most opulent town of all Epirus, had been struck with admiration; and was the more confirmed in her intentions, of continuing that kind of war against the States of Greece. But some domestick commotions gave a stop to the present execution of that design; and forced her to employ her whole attention, to bring back the rebels to their duty. The greater part of these being soon reduced, she was now laying siege to Issa; the only town of her dominions, that still refused to submit to her authority.

To this place came the Roman Embassadors: and having
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gained a time of audience, they recounted all the injuries which their people had received from the Illyrians. The Queen assumed high airs of disdain and fierceness, during the whole time of their discourse. And when it was ended, she replied; that she would take care that her State in general should afford no matter of complaint hereafter to the Romans; but that it was not the custom in Illyria, for their Kings to restrain their private subjects from endeavouring to enrich themselves upon the sea. The youngest of the Embassadors was unable to bear this haughtiness: and with a freedom, which could not have been condemned if it had been more in season, he answered, "But among the Romans, O Queen, it is one of their best and noblest customs, to exact publick reparation for private wrongs, and at all times to redress the complaints of their subjects: and we shall endeavour, with the assistance of the Gods, to force You shortly to reform the kingly customs of Illyria." The Queen received this answer like a true woman; with much absurd passion and resentment: which carried her to such excess, that she ordered the Embassadors to be pursued as they were returning home, and, in defiance of the laws of nations, killed the person who had spoken those words. The Romans, being greatly enraged by so daring and flagitious an affront, immediately levy troops, get ready a fleet, and make all the necessary preparations for war.

In the beginning of the Spring, the Illyrians, having drawn together a greater number of vessels than before, sailed away to invade the coasts of Greece. One part of the fleet steered their course to Corcyra; while the rest cast anchor in the port of Epidamnus, on pretence to take in water and provisions. But their true intention was, to make themselves masters of the town. The Epidamnians received them without suspicion, and neglected all precaution. A party entered, dressed in an under garment only, and carrying pitchers in their hands, as if they came for water. But they had swords concealed with-
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in the pitchers; with which they attacked and killed the guards that were posted at the Gate, and took possession of it. And being at the same time joined, as it had been concerted, by a larger body of forces from the ships, they made themselves masters of a great part of the walls without much difficulty. But the Epidamnians, though taken by surprize, when they were in no apprehension of an enemy, resisted with such bravery and vigour, that, after a very long and obstinate dispute, they at last forced the Illyrians to retire from the town. Thus they recovered by their valour, what their negligence had almost lost: and were instructed by this accident, to use greater care and circumspection in all future times.

The Illyrians, being thus repulsed, made haste to get out to sea: and having overtaken the rest of the fleet, they sail together to Corcyra, disembark their troops, and lay siege to the city. The Corcyreans were under no small consternation: and finding themselves too weak to encounter with so great a force, they sent to the Ætolians and Achæans, imploring their assistance. The inhabitants of Apollonia and Epidamnus likewise deputed messengers to the same States: conjuring them to interpose with some speedy and effectual succours, and not permit the Illyrians to dispossess them of their towns and natural country. The Achæans and Ætolians consented readily to this request. And having in a few days equipped at their joint charge ten ships of war that belonged to the Achæans, they steered their course towards Corcyra, hoping to raise the siege. But the Illyrians having received seven ships of war from the Acarnanians, in consequence of their alliance with them, sailed out and engaged the enemy near the island Paxus. The fight was equal between the Acarnanians, and that part of the Achæan fleet that was engaged against them: nor was any harm sustained, except that some were wounded on either side. But the Illyrians, having tied their vessels four and four together, came on to the engagement

with much seeming negligence, and even presented their flank to the enemy, as if to aid them in their attack, and render it more effectual. But no sooner were they grappled close, and the beaks of the Achæan ships had fixed them fast to the sides of the vessels that were thus bound together, than the Illyrians, entering along the decks of the enemy, overpowered them by the number of their soldiers, took four of their Quadriremes, and sunk one Quinquereme to the bottom. In this latter perished Marcus the Carynian, whose whole life had been distinguished by a zealous and close attachment to all the interests of the Achæan Commonwealth. When those that were engaged against the Acarnanians saw what had happened to the rest, they immediately prepared to fly, trusting to the celerity of their ships: and having the advantage of a fresh and favourable wind, they sailed back again to their own country, and escaped without any loss. The Illyrians were much elated by this victory, and received no farther interruption in the siege. But the Corcyreans, being quite disheartened by the ill state of their affairs, and despairing of all means of safety, sustained the siege but a short time afterwards, and then submitting to the enemy, received a garrison under the command of Demetrius of Pharos. The Illyrians then steered away to sea, and returning again to Epidamnus, prepared to lay siege to that city.

About this time, one of the Roman Consuls, Caius Fulvius, set out to prosecute the war, with a fleet of two hundred ships: while his Colleague Aulus Postumius began his march at the head of the land forces. The former of these had resolved to sail in all haste to Corcyra; flattering himself, that he might perhaps arrive, before the siege was ended. And though he was disappointed in that hope, yet he chose still to hold on his course: not only for the sake of getting more perfect information concerning all that had happened there, but also that he might make trial of the reality and importance

importance of some advices, which had been sent to Rome by Demetrius: who, finding that Teuta had conceived some jealousy of his conduct, and dreading the effects of her resentment, had privately offered to the Romans, to deliver Corcyra into their hands, with every thing besides, that was within the reach of his authority. The Corcyreans saw with pleasure the arrival of the fleet, and with the consent of Demetrius delivered up the garrison to the Romans, and put themselves under their protection: as judging this to be the only measure, by which they could hereafter be secure against the lawless attacks and insults of the Illyrians. The Romans then sailed away to Apollonia, taking Demetrius with them, by whose advice they were chiefly guided during the rest of the war. The other Consul, having embarked the troops at Brundisium, arrived also about the same time at Apollonia. His army consisted of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The inhabitants received them without any difficulty, and submitted themselves intirely to their discretion. But the Consuls, on the news that Epidamnus was invested, immediately hastened their march that way. The Illyrians, being informed of their approach, raised the siege in disorder, and fled. The Romans, having received the Epidamnians also into their protection, advanced farther into Illyria, and reduced the Ardyæans. They now were met by deputations from many different towns and districts. Among these were the Atintanians, and Parthinians; who offered to receive their laws. The Romans admitted them all to terms of friendship and alliance; and continued their march to Issa, which was besieged by the Illyrians. And having raised the siege, and taken the inhabitants under their protection, they then sailed along the coast, and took many towns by storm. But in the attack of one of these, called Nutria, they lost not only a great number of their soldiers, but some Tribunes also, and a Quæstor. They took likewise
twenty

twenty boats, that were returning with plunder collected in the country. A part of the army that was employed in the siege of Issa, having declared for the interests of Demetrius, retired to Pharos, and were permitted to be safe. The rest fled in disorder, and escaped to Arbon. The Queen herself, with very few attendants, got safe to Rizon: a little town of considerable strength, which stood at a distance from the sea, upon a river of the same name.

The Romans after this success, by which they had greatly enlarged the dominions of Demetrius, having prevailed on many cities of Illyria to receive him as their master, took their route back again to Epidamnus, with the fleet and army. Fulvius then returned to Rome, and carried with him the greater part of all the forces. But Postumius, having drawn together forty vessels, and raised some troops among the neighbouring towns, resolved to pass the winter there; that he might be ready, in case of danger, to repress all commotions that might arise among the Ardyæans, and the rest of the people who had submitted, and put themselves under the protection of the Romans.

But in the beginning of the Spring, Embassadors arrived at Rome from Teuta, and agreed to a peace upon these conditions: "That the Queen should pay a certain Tribute, and abandon all Illyria, a few places only excepted: and, which was of the greatest importance to all the States of Greece, that she should never after that time sail beyond Lissus with more than two frigates, and those unarmed."

The treaty being thus concluded, Postumius sent Embassadors to the Achæans and Ætolians; to acquaint them with the causes of the war, the progress and circumstances of it, and the terms of the peace which they had made. The Embassadors were received with great respect and favour by the two Republicks: and from thence they sailed away to Corcyra. The Greeks were delivered by this Treaty out of

no small terror ; for the Illyrians were the common enemies of all.

Such was the first expedition of the Romans into Illyria and the neighbouring parts of Europe : which gave birth also to the first correspondence, in the way of Embassy, between that Republick and the States of Greece. From this beginning, they took occasion to depute, within a short time afterwards, another Embassy to Corinth, and to Athens. And it was on that occasion, that the Corinthians first admitted the Romans to be present at the Isthmian Games.

CHAP. II.

DURING this time Asdrubal, for it was here that we left the affairs of Spain, conducted all things in his government with great dexterity and wisdom ; enlarging the power, and advancing the interests of his Republick in that country, both by the whole course of his administration in it, and more particularly by building that City, which by some is called Carthage, and by others the New City : whose situation with respect both to Spain and Afric rendered it a place of the greatest moment and importance. We shall take a proper occasion to describe more fully the advantages of this situation, and the use that may be made of it, in governing the affairs of those two countries. The Romans could not behold so sudden an increase of power without the greatest apprehensions. They saw the necessity of turning their thoughts to Spain : and resolved to raise themselves from that state of indolence and inactivity, which had as it were shut their eyes, and prevented them from paying a due attention to the progress of their enemies. At this time however, being themselves in almost daily expectation of an invasion from the Gauls, they neither dared to declare war against the Carthaginians, nor demand any hard conditions from them : but chose

chose rather to have recourse to mild and gentle measures; till their arms had freed them from the apprehension of an enemy, whose situation in their very neighbourhood not only rendered their sovereignty in Italy precarious, but even threatened to deprive them of their own natural and proper country. They sent therefore to Asdrubal, and concluded a treaty with him, by which, no mention being made of the rest of Spain, it only was agreed, that the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus with an army. This being settled, the Romans immediately turned their arms against the Gauls.

It will by no means be an useless task, nor foreign to the design of this Introduction, to give here a short account of this people, from the time of their first settlement in Italy. For besides that the subject itself is curious, and such as well deserves the pains of being particularly considered, it is also a point of the last importance, that we should in this place previously be acquainted with it; in order to gain a right conception, what the country was, into which Annibal afterwards led his army, and what the forces, by whose assistance he attempted to subvert the Roman empire. We shall first describe the nature of the country, and it's situation with respect to the other parts of Italy: that when we have thus acquired a knowledge of the places, we may be able more easily to comprehend, whatever was great and worthy of our notice, in the transactions that happened in them.

The whole of Italy resembles a Triangle in it's figure. The Eastern side is bounded by the Ionian sea and Adriatic Gulph: the South and West, by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian seas. The third side, towards the North, is terminated by a chain of mountains called the Alps; which, beginning near Massilia, and the places above the Sardinian sea, extend without any interruption to within a very little distance of the inmost extremity of the Adriatic, and are considered as the Base of the Triangle. At the foot of these mountains, on the

the southern side, lie those Plains, of which we are now to speak: which, both in their fertility and wide extent, are far superior to any other parts of Europe, that have been yet discovered. These Plains form also the figure of a Triangle; the top of which is made by the junction of the Alps and Apennines, a little above Massilia. The northern side is bounded by the Alps, to the length of two thousand and two hundred stadia: the southern, by the Apennines, to the extent of three thousand and six hundred. The coast of the Adriatic forms the Base of this Figure: and contains in length, from Sena to the inmost part of the Gulph, almost two thousand and five hundred stadia. So that the whole Plains together include a space of near ten thousand stadia in circumference.

The fertility of this country is greater than can be well expressed. They have grain of all kinds in such abundance, that even in our times, a Sicilian Bushel of wheat is sold there for four Oboli; and of barley, for two. For a firkin of wine, they exchange an equal measure of barley. Panick also and millet are found among them in so great plenty, that nothing can exceed it. Their forests, which at certain distances are spread over all the country, afford so large a quantity of acorns, that though great numbers of swine are constantly consumed by the inhabitants of Italy, as well in the uses of private families, as for the supply of their armies, yet are they chiefly furnished with them from these plains. Such in a word is the cheapness and the plenty of all common necessities, that when travellers stop to take refreshment in their inns, instead of settling by agreement the prices of any particular provisions, they only fix a certain rate for every person. This rarely exceeds the fourth part of an Obolus: and for this small expence, they are supplied in full abundance with all things that are requisite. The numbers of the people, by whom these plains are filled, the size and comeliness of their

bodies, and their prowess in war, may be fully understood from those great actions, for which they are justly celebrated. Both sides of the Alps, as far as the ascent is easy, are inhabited by different nations. On that side, which looks towards the north and the river Rhone, dwell those that are called the Transalpine Gauls. On the other side, the Taurisci, and Agones, and other various tribes. The Transalpine Gauls derived their origin from the same common stock with the rest: and obtained that appellation from their situation only; because they fixed themselves beyond the Alps. The tops of these mountains, on account of the steepness of the ascent, and the perpetual snows with which they are covered, have hitherto remained without inhabitants. From the place where the Apennine mountains first begin, a little above Massilia, and from their junction with the Alps, the country on the side of the Tyrrhenian sea quite down to Pisa, the first town of Tyrrhenia to the west, and that also on the side towards the plains, as far as to the confines of the Arretinians, was all inhabited by the Ligurians. Adjoining to these were the Tyrrhenians; and next to them the Umbrians, situated on both sides of the mountains. In this place, the Apennine, at the distance of about five hundred stadia from the Adriatic, leaves these Plains; and turning suddenly to the right, directs its course towards the Sicilian sea, dividing the rest of Italy in the middle: so that what remains to complete the southern side of this Triangle, is formed by the Plains themselves; which are continued, from the point where the Apennine turns away, quite down to Sena, a town upon the Adriatic coast.

The river Po, celebrated by the poets under the name of Eridanus, takes its source among the Alpine mountains, near the upper point of the Triangle which we have now described, and first bends its stream towards the south, till it has gained the plains. Afterwards flowing eastward, it runs to empty itself

self by two mouths into the Adriatic Gulph. It divides these Plains into two unequal parts; the largest of which is that which lies extended between the Adriatic and the Alps. In the quantity of it's waters, it far exceeds the rest of the rivers of Italy. For all the streams, that descend from the Alps and Apennines, are discharged into the channel of the Po. About the time especially when the Dog star first appears, and the melted snows flow down in great abundance from these mountains, the fulness of it's stream is remarkably great and beautiful. This river is navigable from the mouth which is called Olane, to the distance of two thousand stadia within the land. From it's first sources, it flows in one single channel as far as to the country of the Trigobali: and there breaking into a double stream, runs, as we have said, to discharge itself by two mouths into the sea. The first of these is called Padoa, the other Olane: the last of which affords a safe and commodious port for ships, not inferior to any upon the Adriatic coast. This river is called Bodencus, by the natives of the country.

There is no need to add to our description of this river, the many sad and tragical fables, with which the Greeks have filled their histories: of the fall of Phaëton; the tears of the Poplars; and that race of black men, who live upon the river, and are said still to wear the habit of mourning, in memory of Phaëton's death. A close discussion of such stories would very ill suit with the design of this Introduction. But perhaps we shall take some fairer occasion in another place, to consider them in as full a manner as the subject may require: if it be only for the sake of shewing some proofs of the inaccuracy of Timæus, with regard to the places which we have been describing.

These plains were formerly inhabited by the Tyrrhenians; who gained great fame by their exploits, in the country round Capua and Nola, which at that time was called the Phlegræan Fields. Whatever therefore we read in history, concerning

the ancient dynasties and fortunes of this people, must be all referred, not to the country which they possess at present, but to the plains just mentioned; whose fertility and wide extent afforded them the means of becoming great and powerful. But the Gauls, who often visited this country for the sake of commerce, and had seen it's beauty with a jealous eye, found occasion, from some slight pretence, to fall suddenly upon the Tyrrhenians with a powerful army, when they were in no expectation of an enemy: and having driven them from their native seats, they took possession of all the country that was round the Po. The first part of it, which lay nearest to the sources of the river, was seized on by the Laians and Lebecians. Next to these were the Insubrians, a great and powerful nation: and after them, the Cenomans. Below all these, and nearest to the Adriatic, were the Venetians: a very ancient people, whose dress and manners greatly resembled those of the Gauls, though they used a different language. This is that nation, of whom the Tragic poets have recorded so many monstrous fables. On the other side of the Po, the first in order, and the nearest to the Apennines, were the Ananes; and next to these, the Boii. Between the Boii and the Adriatic, were the Lingonian Gauls; and lower down, upon the coast, the Senones.

These were the principal nations, that were seated in that tract of country which we have now described. Their manner of life was extremely plain and simple. They had no walled towns; nor any kind of furniture in their hamlets. The ground was their constant bed: and flesh their chief food. Their sole employment was agriculture, and war. All other sciences and arts were utterly unknown among them. Their wealth consisted in gold and cattle: because these alone were at all times most easily removed from place to place, as occasion might require. But that which engaged their greatest care, was to procure a numerous train of followers, all
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ready to support their interests, and execute their commands. For every one among them was strong and formidable, in proportion only to the number of these dependants.

From the time of their first settlement in these plains, the Gauls not only maintained themselves in safe possession of the country, from whence they had driven the Tyrrhenians, but by the terror of their arms forced many of the neighbouring nations also to receive their yoke. Some time afterwards, having defeated the Romans and their allies in a set engagement, and pursued them, during a flight of three days continuance, to the very gates of Rome, they made themselves masters of all the city, the Capitol alone excepted. But when they heard that the Venetians, taking occasion from their absence, had entered their territories with an army, they consented to a treaty with the Romans, restored their city to them, and returned back again to their own country. They were afterwards for some time engaged in domestick wars. Some of the people also that lived among the Alps, envying them the possession of a country that was so much better than their own, turned their arms against them, and made frequent incursions upon their territory. During this time the Romans had full leisure to recover by degrees their wasted strength; and to reduce the Latins, who had a second time revolted.

Thirty years after the time when Rome was taken, the Gauls advanced with a powerful army as far as Alba. The Romans, being thus attacked when they had no apprehension of a war, and not having time to draw together the troops of their allies, were afraid to take the field. But twelve years afterwards, when they were again invaded by as great a force, having received timely notice of the design, and being joined by their confederates, they marched out against the enemy with great alacrity and confidence, designing to engage in a decisive battle. But the Gauls were struck with terror at their approach: and as their army was distracted
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also by dissensions, they retreated, or rather fled, with great precipitation back again to their country ; and remained quiet during the course of thirteen years. And having then remarked the great increase and progress of the Roman power, they consented to a league of peace.

During thirty years, they firmly adhered to the conditions of this treaty. But being then threatened with a war from the Transalpine Gauls, and apprehending that the consequences of it might prove fatal to them, they prevailed upon those nations, partly by large presents, and partly also by pleading their descent from one common stock, to desist from their design, and to join their forces with them against the Romans. They march together through Tyrrhenia ; and being assisted also by the people of that country, ravage the Roman borders, and return safely back again with the spoil. But no sooner were they arrived in their own country, than some disputes arose among them concerning the division of the plunder ; which were carried to so great excess, that they lost the most considerable part, not only of the booty, but of their army likewise. Such disorders are upon these occasions very frequent among the Gauls : especially when they are filled with feasting, and their senses lost in wine.

Four years afterwards, the Gauls in conjunction with the Samnites engaged the Romans in battle, in the country of the Camertines, and killed great numbers of them. The Romans, incensed by this defeat, drew together all their forces : and having met the enemy, within a few days after the former action, in the district of the Sentinates, they destroyed the greatest part of their army, and forced the rest to fly homewards in disorder. About ten years afterwards, they returned again with a very great force, and laid siege to Arretium. The Romans attempted to raise the siege ; but were defeated in an engagement before the city, and the Consul Lucius killed. M. Curius, who succeeded him in office, sent

sent to treat with the enemy concerning the redemption of the prisoners. But the Gauls, in defiance of the laws of nations, killed the messengers. The Romans, being greatly enraged by an action so perfidious, raise a numerous army, and march immediately into Gaul. The Senones advance against them, but are defeated in a set engagement. The greater part of them were destroyed in the action: and the Romans, having forced the rest to leave their habitations, seized the country into their hands. This was the part of Gaul, to which they for the first time sent a Colony; and built a city which was called Sena, from the name of the former inhabitants. We have already spoken of the situation of this place; which stands upon the Adriatic coast, in the extremity of those plains that are watered by the Po.

The extirpation of the Senones alarmed the Boian Gauls with apprehensions of being next involved in the same destruction. They therefore drew together all their forces; and having prevailed on the Tyrrhenians also to assist them, they marched out and engaged the Romans, near the lake called Vadimon. But the greater part of the Tyrrhenians were killed in the action: and a small number only of the Boians saved themselves by flight. Notwithstanding this ill success, they joined their forces again together in the following year; armed all the Youth that were of sufficient age; and ventured on a second battle. But their defeat was so intire, that, in spite of all their obstinacy and reluctance, they were forced to sue for peace, and accept conditions from the Romans. These transactions happened, three years before Pyrrhus invaded Italy; and five years before the memorable overthrow of the Gauls at Delphi. For Fortune about this time seemed to have infected all the Gallic nations with a spirit of war, which proved every where fatal to them.

The Romans derived two advantages, of very great importance, from these wars. For first, as they had so often
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been defeated by the Gauls, they had nothing left, either to apprehend or suffer, more dreadful than that which they had before experienced: so that in all their contests against Pyrrhus, they performed the part of skilful and well practised combatants. The other advantage was, that having given a timely check to the ambition and the restless spirit of the Gauls, they had afterwards full leisure to join all their forces, and employ the whole strength of the Republick, first against Pyrrhus, when he invaded their dominions, and afterwards against the Carthaginians in the war of Sicily.

During forty-five years after their last defeat, the Gauls punctually observed the conditions of the peace, and gave no disturbance to the Romans. But when those who had beheld the past calamities, had in the course of time left the world, the race of young men that succeeded in their place, being hot and violent in their disposition, unused to hardships, and unpractised in misfortunes, began, as it naturally happens in such circumstances, to sow the seeds of fresh commotions. They took up matter of offence against the Romans upon the slightest pretexts: and engaged the Gauls that lived beyond the Alps to assist them with their forces. But as this design had been concerted privately between the chiefs alone, without the approbation or the knowledge of the multitude, the Transalpine Gauls no sooner were advanced as far as Ariminum with their army, than the people among the Boians, having conceived a jealousy of their intentions, rose tumultuously against their chiefs, killed their two Kings, Galatus and Ates, and opposed the march of the strangers, engaging them in a set battle, in which great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Romans, alarmed by the first account of this invasion, had ordered the legions to take the field: but when they heard that the Gauls had thus defeated and destroyed each other, they returned back again with their forces.

Five years after this event, in the Consulship of M. Lepidus, the

the lands of Picenum, from whence the Senones had been before driven out, were divided among the Romans by lot, in consequence of a law proposed for that purpose by Flaminius, in favour of the People. But this measure, as it proved afterwards one of the chief causes of the corruption of the Roman manners, was also the occasion of the wars that now followed with the Gauls. For all that people in general, and especially the Boians, who lay nearest to the Roman borders, conceived great jealousy from this proceeding: which seemed plainly to declare, that the design of the Romans was not so much to extend their conquests, and reduce them to pay obedience to their laws, as utterly to exterminate and destroy them. The Boians therefore and the Insubrians, the most numerous and powerful of all these nations, agreed to unite their forces; and sent embassadors also to the Gauls who lived upon the Alps, and along the Rhone. These were called *Gælatæ*; because their custom was, to serve in armies for a certain hire: for this is what the name imports. The embassadors gave large sums of gold to the two Kings, Concolitanus and Anerœstus, in order to gain them to their party, and excite them to a war against the Romans. They set before their eyes the wealth and flourishing condition of that empire; and the immense treasures, which must accrue from the conquest of so great and powerful a people. They promised, that themselves would bear an equal part in all the dangers of the war. They reminded them of those great exploits, which their ancestors had performed against the same people. That they not only had defeated them in battle, but had taken Rome itself upon the first assault, and obtained all the riches of the place. And that, when they had kept possession of the city during seven whole months, in mere grace and favour they restored it to the Romans; and returned back again to their country safe and unhurt, and loaded with spoil of every kind. This dis-

course excited in the minds of all the chiefs so great an eagerness and impatience for the war, that they soon drew together an army, which in the number of the troops, as well as from the bravery and distinguished characters of the men who served among them, far exceeded any that ever had been known in former times to march from this part of Gaul.

The Romans, having been informed in part of these preparations, and partly conjecturing what would happen, were seized with no small consternation. They used all diligence in raising troops; filled their magazines with provisions, and other necessary stores; and often led their forces to the frontiers of their country, as if the Gauls already were arrived, when they had not even yet begun their march.

In the mean while, these commotions afforded full time and leisure to the Carthaginians, to extend their conquests, and secure the acquisitions which they had gained in Spain. For the Romans were forced, as we have said, to neglect that country, till they had first reduced an enemy, who alarmed them with the apprehensions of a nearer danger, and hung close upon their very borders. They therefore were content with having set some bounds to the progress of the Carthaginians, by the treaty that was made with Asdrubal; and, as the circumstances of the times required, turned their whole thoughts and care upon the present war.

It was now eight years after the division of the Picenian lands, when the Gætæ passed the Alps, with a numerous army, completely furnished and equipped, and advanced along the Po. They were joined by the Boians and Insubrians, who persisted firmly in their first design. But the Venetians and the Cenomans, having been gained by some ambassadors that were deputed to them, had made an alliance with the Romans. The Gauls therefore were obliged to leave a part of their forces behind them in the country, to keep those
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nations under due restraint; while the rest continued their route towards Tyrrhenia. Their numbers were, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse and Chariots.

As soon as the Romans were informed that the Gauls had passed the Alps, they sent away the Consul L. Æmilius with an army to Ariminum, to oppose the entrance of the enemy on that side. One of the Prætors was sent to command in Tyrrhenia: for C. Atilius, the other Consul, had sailed with some forces to Sardinia some time before. The people all were under the greatest consternation; and dreaded every thing that was terrible and fatal. Nor were these fears unreasonable. What they had formerly suffered from the Gauls was always present to their minds. In apprehension of the same misfortune, they make haste to draw together their troops, and raise new levies: send notice to their allies, to be in readiness to join them; and order publick enrolments to be made, of all the men in their dominions that were of age to bear arms. They resolved that the armies of the Consuls should be composed of the choicest and the most considerable part of all their forces. Their magazines were filled with corn, and furnished with all kinds of military stores, in much greater abundance than had been ever known before. All manner of supplies were readily sent in from every quarter. For the alarm had spread through all the states of Italy, and filled all the inhabitants with terror. They no longer considered themselves as Allies, that were invited to sustain the Roman cause; or thought that this invasion was designed against the power of that Republick only: but rather regarded the Gauls as their common enemies; whose approach portended the last destruction to themselves, their towns, and all their territories. They complied therefore with the greatest chearfulness with every thing that was desired or exacted from them.

But we shall here pause awhile, to give a more minute detail of the strength and preparations of the Romans, and of

the numbers of their troops. For from hence we shall be able to discern with truth, what was the condition of this Republick, when Annibal had the boldness to invade it: and what the forces, which that General not only dared to encounter in the field, but also gained such eminent advantages against them, as threw the Romans into very desperate circumstances.

The armies that were under the command of the Consuls, consisted of four Roman Legions, each of which contained five thousand and two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse; besides the troops of the allies, which amounted to thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The Sabines and Tyrrhenians had raised for the present exigency above fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which were stationed upon the frontiers of Tyrrhenia, under the conduct of a Prætor. Twenty thousand Umbrians and Sarfinates came also from the Apennines; together with an equal number of Cenomans and Venetians. These were posted upon the Gallic borders; with design to make incursions into the territory of the Boians, and constrain that people to return again, and defend their own country. Such were the forces, that were disposed upon the frontiers. They had also drawn together an army in the neighbourhood of Rome, to cover the city from surprize, and to be held in readiness against all accidents. It consisted of twenty thousand Roman Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse; besides thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, from the Allies. The numbers that were severally enrolled in the publick registers were as follows. Among the Latins, eighty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse. Among the Samnites, seventy thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. The Iapygians and Mesapygians sent the names of fifty thousand Foot, and sixteen thousand Horse: the Lucanians, thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. The Marsians, Marucinians, Ferentinians, and Vestinians, brought

brought twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. In Sicily, and at Tarentum, there were also two Legions; each of which contained four thousand and two hundred Foot, with two hundred Horse. The numbers of the Romans and Campanians, enrolled together, were two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and twenty-three thousand Horse. Thus the armies, that were disposed abroad upon the several frontiers, consisted of near a hundred and fifty thousand Foot, with about seven thousand Horse. And the intire numbers of those that were capable of bearing arms, both among the Romans and their Allies, were seven hundred thousand Foot, and seventy thousand Horse. Such were the forces of this Republick, when Annibal had the boldness to penetrate even into the very heart of Italy, with an army which scarcely equalled twenty thousand men. But this is a point, which we shall be able to shew in a clearer light, in the subsequent parts of this History.

The Gauls, having entered Tyrrhenia, wasted all the country without resistance; and at last directed their march towards Rome. But when they had advanced as far as Clusium, which is about three days journey distant from the City, they were informed, that the army, which had at first been posted upon the frontiers of Tyrrhenia, was following close behind, and ready to overtake them. They therefore directed their route back again in haste, with design to meet and engage them. The two armies arrived in sight about the time of sunset, and incamped at a moderate distance from each other. But when night came on, the Gauls, having lighted all their fires, and left the Cavalry behind them in the camp, with orders, that when they had just shewn themselves to the enemy in the morning, they should immediately pursue the route which they were going to take, retreated unperceived to Fæsula, and there incamped: designing to receive their Horse as they came up, and to fall suddenly from thence upon the Romans. As soon as it was day, the Romans, perceiving that
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the Cavalry alone was left in fight, persuaded themselves that the Gauls had already fled; and began to follow in all haste, along the road by which the Horse now retreated. But as soon as they approached the main body of the enemy, the Gauls suddenly appeared, and fell upon them. The action was for some time warm and obstinate. But the Gauls, superior both in bravery and numbers, at last obtained the victory. Six thousand Romans were destroyed in the place: the rest escaped by flight. The greater part of these, having gained a neighbouring eminence, seated themselves upon it. The Gauls at first designed to attack them immediately in this post. But as they had been much exhausted and fatigued by the march which they had made the night before, and were impatient to take some refreshment and repose, they placed a part of their Cavalry only round the hill, and resolved to force it in the morning, in case that the Romans should then refuse to surrender at discretion.

It happened, that Lucius Æmilius, who was at first incamped on the side of the Adriatic sea, but had hastened his march from thence, upon the news that the Gauls had taken their route through Tyrrhenia, and were advanced almost to Rome, arrived now most fortunately in the very moment when his assistance was chiefly wanted, and fixed his camp at a small distance only from the enemy. The Romans that had saved themselves upon the hill, having perceived his fires, and guessing the occasion of them, resumed their courage, and sent some men unarmed, in the night, through a forest, to acquaint the Consul with all that had happened to them. Æmilius, finding that there was no time left to deliberate, immediately began his march towards the hill, at the head of all the Cavalry; having commanded the Tribunes to follow with the Infantry at break of day. The Gauls on their part also perceived the fires, and conjecturing that the enemy was near, called together a Council of their Chiefs. In this assembly,
Anerœstus,

Anerœstus, one of the Kings, observed to them; "that as they had gained so immense a booty, both in slaves, and cattle, and spoil of every kind, it seemed to be by no means prudent to venture on a battle, which must expose them to the danger of being stripped of all: that they rather should resolve to return again directly to their country, while there was yet time to retreat with safety: and that, when they had lightened the army of it's treasure, they might again take the field, if it should then be thought expedient, and renew the war against the Romans." These sentiments were readily embraced by all. They decamped therefore before break of day, and took their route back again through Tyrrhenia, marching along the coast. The Consul Lucius, though he had increased his army with the troops that were saved upon the hill, was unwilling to venture on a set engagement; and rather chose to follow close upon the enemy, with design to seize such opportunities as chance should offer, for attacking them with some advantage, and recovering part of the booty.

At this very time, Atilius the other Consul, returning from Sardinia, had disembarked his troops at Pisæ, and was marching towards Rome, by a route directly opposite to that which the Gauls had taken. The latter had now almost reached the town of Telamon, upon the coast of Tyrrhenia, when some of their foragers were met by the foremost of the Roman troops: and being carried prisoners to the Consul, and examined by him, they informed him of all that had been transacted, and of the approach of both the armies: that the Gauls were extremely near; and Æmilius following close behind them. The Consul was surprized at an event so strange, and greatly overjoyed to find, that he had fallen thus happily upon the enemy, and inclosed them between two armies. He commanded the Tribunes to draw up the troops in battle; to extend their front as much as the nature of the ground would suffer,

suffer, without disturbing the order of their march; and to move slowly towards the enemy. And having observed an eminence, that overlooked the road along which the Gauls must necessarily pass, he made haste, at the head of all the Cavalry, to seize that post; in the hope, that by being the first to begin the action, he should secure to himself the chief honour of the victory. The Gauls, who as yet were ignorant of the arrival of Atilius, and imagined only that the other Consul had stretched his march before them in the night, in order to possess himself of all the advantageous posts, detached their Cavalry, together with a part of their light-armed troops, to force the Romans from the hill. But being soon acquainted with the truth, by one of the prisoners that were taken, they immediately ranged their Infantry in order of battle: and that their disposition might be suited to the present exigency, they gave to their whole army a double front; that thus they might be able to sustain at once the attack of those that were coming upon them from behind, and of those whom they now likewise knew to be advancing in front against them.

Though Æmilius had been before informed, that these legions had arrived at Pisæ, he had conceived no kind of expectation, that they were yet so near. But being now assured of their approach by what passed upon the hill, he presently sent away his Cavalry to the place, to assist the combatants: and having also ranged his Infantry in order of battle after the usual manner, he advanced against the enemy.

Among the Gauls, the Gætæ, and after them the Insu-
brians, composed the front behind, that was turned towards Æmilius. The Taurisci and the Boians formed the opposite front: and stood ready to receive the attack of Atilius and his legions. The Chariots were placed in the extremity of either Wing. The plunder had been all removed to a neighbouring hill; and a detachment was left to guard it. The army,
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being thus formed in double front, was not only terrible to behold, but very proper also for action. The Boians and Insubrians wore the breeches of their country, and were covered with light military vests. But the Gælatæ, who were both vain and fearless, being apprehensive that the bushes which grew upon the place might be entangled in their habits, and obstruct their motions, threw away all covering, and keeping their arms only, presented themselves naked to the enemy. The fight was begun by the Horse upon the hill, in the clear view of all the armies. For the numbers that were engaged were very great; the whole Cavalry having run together in promiscuous crouds from all sides to the combat. In this action, the Consul Caius, while he advanced without sufficient caution too far among the enemy, lost his life; and his head was carried to the Gallic kings. The Romans however maintained the fight with so much firmness, that they gained at last a perfect victory, and kept intire possession of their post.

The Infantry now approached each other: offering to view a spectacle, which must needs appear most strange and singular, I do not say to those alone that were present at it, but to all who can at this time form in their minds a distinct conception of the scene. For certainly an engagement between three different armies at once must strike with many circumstances, which are wholly different from those of other combats, both in the appearance, and in the course of action. Nor is it easy even now to determine, whether the advantages, which the Gauls derived from this disposition of their forces, were not greater than the danger to which they were exposed. For though they were attacked on both sides, yet as their army was formed with a double front, they were not only able to oppose both enemies at once, but also mutually to protect and cover each other from any attack behind. But the chief advantage was, and which is indeed peculiar to this

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kind of disposition, that there was no place or room for flight, nor any hopes of safety but in victory.

The Romans were elated with no small joy, when they saw that they had thus inclosed the enemy as in a snare. But on the other hand, the appearance of the Gallic forces, and the unusual noise with which they advanced to action, struck them with great amazement. For besides their horns and trumpets, the number of which was almost infinite, the whole army broke together into such loud and continued cries, that the neighbouring places every where resounded, and seemed to join their voices with the shouts and clamour of the instruments and soldiers. The very looks and motions also of the Gauls, that stood naked in the front, and were distinguished by their comeliness and strength, greatly increased the terror. In the foremost ranks, the combatants were all adorned with chains of gold about their necks and hands. The Romans fixed their eyes with eagerness upon these: and if the appearance of the enemy disheartened them with fear, the prospect of so rich a spoil served only to inflame their courage.

The light-armed forces of the Romans, advancing first, as their custom is, to the front of all the army, began the fight by discharging a close and formidable shower of darts and javelins. The Gauls that were in the ranks behind, were in part secured against these weapons, by their breeches, and their military vests. But those that stood naked in the front, were thrown into great disorder and confusion, by an attack which they had not at all expected, and which they knew not how to obviate or resist. For the Gallic buckler was too small to cover them: and as their bodies were also naked, and of the largest size, the javelins that were thrown made their entrance more effectually, and in greater numbers. To turn the attack against these men, was a thing impossible; by reason of the distance from whence they fought. Nor was it easy to force their way through so thick a storm of darts. In this perplexed

perplexed and wretched situation, some of them, being reduced at last to a state of senseless rage and madness, threw themselves among the enemy, and rushed voluntarily upon death : while the rest fell back upon their friends ; treading down the ranks behind them, and exhibiting in their faces all the marks of consternation and extreme dismay. Thus the fierce and daring spirit of the Gælatæ was effectually checked and rendered useless, even in the first onset, by the Roman javelins.

The Romans, having made the signal for their light-armed forces to retire, moved forwards with the legions. Against these, the Insubrians, Boians, and Taurisci, succeeded to the fight ; and sustained it with the greatest obstinacy. Though closely pressed, and most dreadfully wounded, yet still they maintained their ground, and resisted with amazing force. Nor were they in any point inferior to the Romans, except in the advantage of their weapons. For as the Gallic buckler was of a smaller size, so their swords likewise were formed to strike only with the edge ; whereas the Roman swords were made both to push, and strike. But when the Horse came pouring down upon them from the hill, and attacked their flank, the victory was soon determined. The Infantry were slaughtered in their ranks, while the Cavalry precipitately fled. Forty thousand Gauls were slain ; and ten thousand taken prisoners. Among the last was Concolitanus, one of their Kings. The other King, Anerœstus, escaped with a few attendants to a neighbouring place ; and there killed himself, with his companions. The Consul, having collected together all the spoil, sent it away to Rome ; and restored the plunder to the people, from whom it had been taken. He then led his army through Liguria into the Boian territory : and having satiated his soldiers with the plunder of the country, he returned to Rome within a few days afterwards, and hung up in the Capitol the standards, bracelets, and golden collars. The rest of the spoil, together with the prisoners,

was reserved to adorn his triumph. Such was the fatal end of this invasion; which had threatened ruin and extreme destruction to all the states of Italy, and especially to the Romans.

The Romans elated by a victory so signal and complete, were persuaded, that they should now be able to drive the Gauls intirely out of all the country round the Po. They make great preparations, and having raised a numerous army, send it away under the command of the new Consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Titus Manlius. The Boians were terrified by their approach, and surrendered at discretion. But by reason of the rains that fell afterwards in great abundance, and because a dreadful pestilence raged also in the Roman camp, the rest of the season passed over without any action.

The Consuls of the following year, P. Furius and C. Flaminus, led the army a second time into Gaul, through the country of the Anamares, who were situated at no great distance from Massilia: and having first gained that people to their alliance, they advanced into the territory of the Insubrians, near the place where the Addua falls into the Po. But because they had suffered greatly from the enemy, both as they passed the river, and while they were employed in their incampment, they were forced to remain for some time quiet without attempting any thing; and afterwards made a treaty with the Insubrians, by which they consented to leave the country. But when they had marched for some days round the borders of the province, they passed the river Clusius, and came into the district of the Ananes their allies: and having increased their army with the forces of the country, they again invaded the Insubrians, on the side towards the Alps, and spread fire and devastation over all their lands and villages. When the Insubrians saw, that the Romans were thus determined in their hatred, and not likely to be moved from their designs against them, they resolved to try the fortune of
a general

a general engagement. Having therefore brought together all their military Ensigns, and among the rest, the golden Standards from the Temple of Minerva, which were called the Immoveable, and having raised an army of full fifty thousand men, and furnished it with every kind of necessary stores, they marched in terrible array, as if assured of victory, and incamped before the enemy.

As the Romans were much inferior in their numbers, they at first designed to take the assistance of the Gallic troops, that were with them in the camp. But when they had considered on the other hand, that this people all were noted for their fraud and perfidy, and that the present contest was against an enemy of the same race and nation, it seemed most prudent not to trust them in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. They forced them therefore to pass the river, and broke all the bridges, keeping their own army still on this side. By this precaution, they not only were secure against all treason from the Gauls, but laid their own troops also under the necessity of sustaining the battle bravely to the last. For as they had now a river in their rear that was not fordable, there were no hopes of safety for them but in victory. When this was done, they made the necessary disposition for the engagement.

Upon this occasion, the Romans used a very wise and sensible expedient, which was first suggested by the Tribunes, who also instructed all the army, and every soldier in particular, in the manner in which it should be practised. They had remarked in all their former combats, that the Gauls were always fierce, impetuous, and very formidable, in their first attack: but that their swords were such as could make but one single stroke; by the force of which they were so bent and twisted, that unless the soldiers could have leisure to rest them upon the ground, and with the assistance of their feet recover them to their former shape, the second stroke was wholly without effect. They took therefore the Pikes from
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the Triarii, that were in the last line of the army, and distributed them among the cohorts of the first: with orders, that they should begin the attack with these, and afterwards use their swords. They then advanced in order of battle against the front of the enemy. The Gauls, by making their first stroke upon the Pikes, rendered their swords unfit for any farther use. The Romans then ran forwards with their swords, and pressing close upon them, deprived them even of the power of attempting any second stroke. For as the Gallic swords were only formed to give a falling blow, a certain distance was always necessary for that purpose. But the Romans, who were armed with swords that were sharpened at the point, were able to direct their thrusts against the breasts and faces of the enemy, and gave wound after wound without remission, so that the greater part of all this numerous army was at last destroyed upon the place.

As the success in this engagement was chiefly to be ascribed to the prudent foresight of the Tribunes, so on the other hand, the conduct of the Consul Flaminius seems to deserve some censure. For by having ranged his troops in Battle upon the very banks of the river, so that there was no space left sufficient for the cohorts to retreat, he deprived the Romans of one advantage, of which they make great use in all their combats. If the enemy had gained but the least ground upon them in the action, the whole army must have been pushed into the river. But the courage and dexterity of the Romans saved them from this disgrace, and carried the victory to their side, in the manner which we have now described. They then returned back to Rome, loaded with various spoils, and with rich booty of every kind in great abundance.

After this defeat, the Gauls sued for peace, and offered to submit to any conditions. But the Consuls of the following year, M. Claudius and Cn. Cornelius, prevailed to have all thoughts of peace rejected. The Gauls, being thus dis-
appointed

appointed in their hopes, resolved to make a last and desperate effort. They sent a second time to the Gælatæ; and having hired a body of their troops, to the amount of thirty thousand men, they kept themselves in readiness, and waited for the arrival of the Romans. In the beginning of the Spring, the Consuls led the army into the Insubrian territory, and incamped before Acerræ, which stood between the Alps and the river Po. As they had secured, upon their first arrival, all the advantageous posts, the Gauls were unable to throw any relief into the place. But in order to force the Romans to raise the siege, they sent a part of their army into the country of the Ananes, beyond the Po, and laid siege to a town that was called Clastidium. As soon as the Romans heard of this attempt, the Consul Claudius, taking with him the Cavalry, together with a part also of the legions, marched in all haste to succour the besieged. The Gauls, being informed of their approach, raise the siege, and advance in order of battle against the enemy. When they came in sight, the Roman Horse flew briskly to the charge. The Gauls for some time sustained their fury: but being afterwards surrounded by them, and attacked at once both in flank and rear, they were at last completely routed by the Cavalry alone, and forced to fly in great disorder. Many of them were pushed into the river, and perished in the stream: but the greater part were destroyed by the enemy in the place.

After this action, the Romans became masters of Acerræ, and of all the stores that were laid up in it in very great quantity. For the Gauls had fled in haste to Mediolanum, the chief city of the Insubrians. Cornelius followed after them without delay, and presented himself before the town. The Gauls lay quiet, and attempted nothing. But when the Romans had begun their march back again towards Acerræ, they then sallied out, and falling suddenly upon their rear, killed a great number of them, and forced some to fly. But the Consul,

Consul, having ordered the advanced bodies of the army to return, encouraged them to stand, and repel the efforts of the enemy. The fight now grew warm and obstinate. For the Gauls, emboldened by their first success, for some time maintained their ground with firmness. At last however they were intirely broken and defeated, and obliged to fly towards the mountains. Cornelius pursued closely after them; plundered all the country; and took Mediolanum by storm. After these great losses, the Chiefs of the Insubrians, despairing of any farther means of safety, submitted their country and themselves to the Romans at discretion.

Such was the end of the Gallic wars: which, if we regard only the daring spirit and undaunted bravery of the combatants, the forces that were brought into the field, the battles that were fought, and the numbers that fell in those engagements, must certainly appear as great and formidable as any that are known in History. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the rashness, with which these expeditions were projected, or the absurd and senseless conduct, by which they severally were carried into execution, nothing will be found more trifling or contemptible. For the Gauls, I do not say most frequently, but even in every thing that they attempt, are hurried headlong by their passions, and never submit to the rule of reason. From hence it happened, that in a short time they were dispossessed of all the plains that are watered by the Po; some few places only, at the foot of the Alps, excepted. I thought it necessary therefore, to give some account of the conduct and the fortunes of this people, from their first settlement in the country, to the time of their final exclusion from it. Such incidents very properly belong to History; and well deserve to be transmitted to all future times. For from these posterity may learn, what little cause there is to dread the rash and sudden expeditions of any of these barbarous tribes: and in how short a time their strongest forces may be dissipated,

diffipated, by those who are determined bravely to resist, and to struggle even to the latest hope, rather than be deprived of their just and natural rights. I am persuaded, that what Historians have recorded of the expedition of the Persians into Greece, and of the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi, has served greatly to confirm and animate the Greeks, in the contests which they so often have sustained in defence of their common liberty. For whoever revolves in his mind the wonderful transactions of those times, and considers the vastness of the preparations, the bravery of the armies, and the almost infinite number of the forces, which were all vanquished and dispersed, by the superior conduct of those troops, who were able to oppose sense to violence, and skill to rashness, will easily be assured, that no provision of arms or stores, no forces however numerous, can strike so great a terror into men that are brave and resolute, as to force them to abandon all thoughts of safety, or ever part with the hope of being able to defend their country. With regard to the Gauls especially, their armies, even within these later times, have often spread the alarm among the States of Greece. And this was still a farther motive, by which I was inclined to give a short account of the events that happened among this people, even from the earliest period of their history. We now return to the place, from whence we made this digression.

CHAP. III.

THE Carthaginian General Asdrubal, when he had now for eight years governed the affairs of Spain, and in the course of his administration greatly enlarged the sway of his Republick, not so much by force of arms, as by his address, and dexterous management of the Princes of the country, was one night murdered in his tent by a certain Gaul, in resentment of some private injuries. Annibal was at

this time young : yet because in all his actions he had shewn great proofs of courage and capacity, the Carthaginians bestowed upon him the command of the army. He was no sooner invested with this charge, than it was clear to all who observed his conduct, that his intention was to make war upon the Romans ; as indeed it happened not long afterwards. From this time therefore, suspicions, mutual jealousies, and complaints, began to break out between the two Republicks. The Carthaginians, stung by the disgrace and losses which they had sustained in Sicily, looked earnestly for some occasion to revenge themselves upon their enemies. The Romans on the other hand watched all their motions, suspected their designs, and kept themselves upon their guard against them. When such were the sentiments on both sides, it was manifest to all men of judgement, that a war must soon ensue.

About this time the war commenced in Greece, in which the Achæans, in conjunction with King Philip and the rest of the Allies, were engaged against the Ætolians. This was called the Social War.

We have hitherto been employed in giving such an abstract of the chief transactions both in Sicily and Afric, and of those events that were connected with them, as was agreeable to the design of these Preliminary Books. And thus we are arrived at that point of time, from whence we proposed to begin our History : the commencement of the second war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is usually called the War of Annibal, and the Social War now mentioned. But before we engage in the description of these wars, we shall give also some account of the affairs of Greece which preceded this period : that our Introduction may be complete, and the way be opened to every part of the History that follows. For as my design is not to write the annals of any particular country, to relate the affairs of Persia only or of Greece,

Greece, as former Historians have done, but to include in one General History all the known parts of the earth; a design, in which I was encouraged to engage by many circumstances that are peculiar to the present times, and which will more fully be explained hereafter; it seems necessary, that we first should take a short review of the past fortunes and condition of those States and countries that are chiefly celebrated in the world.

With regard indeed to the people of Asia, and to those of Ægypt, there is no need to look back beyond the times which we have just now mentioned. For the events that happened among them in a former age, have already been recorded by many writers, and are sufficiently known to all. Nor have they suffered, in these later times, any change or revolution of so great importance, as might make it necessary to recount any of those actions that preceded. But we shall trace from a period more remote the fortunes of the royal House of Macedon, and those of the Achæan Republick: the first of which, within the course even of our own times, has fallen to ruin; and the latter grown to an amazing height of power, through the consent and harmony of it's several parts. For though great pains were formerly employed to engage the cities of Peloponnesus into this confederacy, yet the labour was without effect. The interests, or the ambition, of particular States still influenced all their actions; and stifled their attention to the common liberty. But in these days, their union is so intire and perfect, that they are not only joined together in bonds of friendship and alliance, but even make use of the same laws, the same weights, coins, and measures, the same magistrates, counsellors, and judges: so that the inhabitants of this whole tract of Greece seem in all respects to form but one single city, except only that they are not inclosed within the circuit of the same walls. In every other point, both through the

whole Republick, and in every separate State, we find the most exact resemblance and conformity.

Let us first inquire then, by what means the Name of Achæans came to be so generally received in all the parts of Peloponnesus : since those to whom this appellation originally belonged, were far from being superior to the rest, either in the number of their cities, the extent or wealth of their territory, or the courage of their people. For both the Spartans and Arcadians are far more numerous, as well as in possession of a much larger tract of country : and in all the acts of valour and martial prowess, they are well known to be inferior to none of the States of Greece. From whence then has it happened, that not the people of these countries only, but all the rest of the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, are so well pleased to receive, not only their laws and form of government, but their very name also, from the Achæans ? To ascribe all this to chance, is in a high degree absurd and foolish. It would become us rather to search out some cause : since nothing happens without a cause ; not even among those events which seem to be the most fortuitous. In my judgement then, this cause is nothing else, than that Equality and Liberty, in a word that Democratical species of government, which is found more just and perfect in it's kind among the Achæans, than in any other State. This Republick was at first composed of a small part only of the inhabitants of Peloponnesus ; who voluntarily associated themselves into one body. But a greater number soon joined themselves to these ; induced to it by persuasion, and the manifest advantages of such an union. And some, as opportunities arose, were forced into the confederacy : but were soon well satisfied with the violence, by which they had been compelled to embrace so excellent a form of government. For the new citizens were suffered to enjoy all the rights and privileges that were permitted to the old. Every thing was equal among them all. Thus, by employing the
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means that were of all things most effectual for their purpose, Equality and Gentleness, they soon arrived at the point which they had in view. To this we must ascribe the growth and strength of the Confederacy; and the flourishing condition which the people of Peloponnesus have from that time enjoyed.

This form of government was of very ancient date among the Achæans. Of this there are many proofs: but it will be sufficient to mention only one or two. After those disorders that happened in the part of Italy that was called Great Greece, in which the Pythagoreans were consumed in fire, together with the House in which they were assembled, the whole country was thrown at once into a state of anarchy and wild confusion. For the chief men of every city had perished in that horrible destruction. The towns all were filled with tumult, slaughter, and the most dreadful outrages. Upon this occasion, though Deputies were sent from almost all the States of Greece, to quiet their dissensions, and restore peace among them, the Achæans were the only people upon whose assistance and advice they consented to rely. Nor was this the only instance, in which they shewed their approbation of the institutions of this Republick. For not long afterwards, they resolved to imitate the whole model of their government. In this design, the people of Croton, Sybaris, and Caulonia, associated themselves by mutual agreement into one confederacy; and built a Temple for holding their common synods and assemblies, inscribing it to Jupiter Homorius. They adopted likewise all the laws and customs of the Achæans, and began to direct their whole administration by them. But Dionysius the Syracusan Tyrant, and their barbarous neighbours, who were very strong and powerful, in a short time forced them to desist from the design.

When the Thebans, after the great and unexpected victory which they had obtained against the Lacedæmonians in the

the battle of Leuctra, began, with the surprize of all, to lay claim to the sovereignty of Greece, various troubles and commotions arose among the people of the country; and especially between the two contending parties: for the one refused to submit as conquered, while the other persisted still to claim the victory. In these circumstances, they at last agreed to yield all the points that were in dispute between them, to the sole judgement and decision of the Achæans. Nor was this preference obtained by any superiority of strength or power; for they were at that time the least of all the States of Greece; but was confessedly bestowed upon that integrity and love of virtue, by which they were distinguished above all other people.

At this time therefore, they were powerful in inclination only, and not from any real strength. Their government had not yet been able to acquire any considerable increase, for want of a Chief that was capable of giving full accomplishment to their designs. For as often as any appeared among them, whose views and conduct were suspected to tend that way, they were immediately opposed in every enterprize, and checked in all their motions, either by the Lacedæmonians, or still more frequently by the Kings of Macedon. But when they had at last found one, whose abilities were equal to the task, they then soon made known the inherent excellence and power of their Republick, by carrying into execution that vast and glorious project, of uniting all the States of Peloponnesus to the body of their own confederacy. The first and chief author of this Union was Aratus the Sicyonian. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, after many struggles, conducted it to it's completion: and Lycortas, with others who pursued his measures, added to it it's last firmness and stability. We shall take occasion to relate their several actions, with the time and manner in which they were performed, as fully and particularly as the design of this History may require. We shall indeed,

deed, both now and at all times hereafter, touch but lightly on the several parts of the administration of Aratus: because he has left behind him a very faithful and clear account of his own transactions. But in all that regards the rest, we shall enlarge more copiously, and survey their conduct with a nicer care. At present, in order to make this whole inquiry more easy to ourselves, as well as more intelligible to the reader, we shall look back to the time when the Achæans, after they had been broken into separate bodies by the Kings of Macedon, first formed the resolution of uniting again their several cities into one community. For from this beginning their Republic gradually enlarged it's bounds and power, till it arrived at last at that state of perfect greatness, in which it has been seen to flourish in these later times.

It was in the hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, that the Patrians and Dymæans associated themselves the first into this confederacy. In the same Olympiad, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, all died. The state of the Achæans before this time was, in few words, as follows. Tisamenes, the son of Orestes, being driven from Sparta upon the return of the Heraclidæ, gained possession of Achaia by force, and was declared Sovereign of the country. His descendants reigned after him in natural succession, down to Ogyges. But when the Children of this Prince had ceased to make the laws the rule of their administration, and began to govern all things by their own arbitrary will, the Achæans changed the constitution from Monarchy to a Commonwealth. In this state they continued afterwards, to the times of Alexander. And though different accidents might in some conjunctures introduce a temporary change in their affairs, yet upon the whole they still preserved the form of a genuine Democracy. Their Republic was composed of twelve cities; all of which now exist, except Olenus and Helice, which were swallowed by an inundation of the sea, not long before the battle
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of Leuctra. The names of the twelve were, Patræ, Dyme, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Carynia, Olenus, and Helice. But after the death of Alexander, this union was dissolved by various contests and dissensions that were raised among them, chiefly through the arts of the Kings of Macedon. Every City was now engaged in a separate interest, and no longer acted in concert with the whole. The effect of this discord was, that some of them received garrisons from Demetrius and Cassander, and afterwards from Antigonus Gonatas; and some were seized by Tyrants: for Antigonus gave both establishment and support to a great number of these throughout all Greece. But in the hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, as we have already mentioned, they saw their error, and began to think of returning to their former state. This was the time, in which Pyrrhus invaded Italy. Dyme, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, were at first the only cities that agreed to unite themselves again in one community: and it is on that account, that there is now no monument remaining of this new confederacy. About five years afterwards, the people of Ægium drove out the garrison, and joined their city to the League. Their example soon was followed by the Burians, who killed their Tyrant; and afterwards by the Carynians also. For when Iseas, the Tyrant of Carynia, saw that by the management of Marcus and the Achæans, the garrison was driven out of Ægium, and the Tyrant of the Burians killed, and that their forces were preparing to invest his territory upon every side, he laid down his Royalty, and, having obtained a promise of life and safety, associated his city to the confederacy.

Some perhaps will be solicitous to know the motives, by which I have been led back to this early period. My design then was, first, that I might mark precisely the time and manner, in which this second confederacy commenced; and what were the cities which laid the first foundation of that Establishment,

blishment, which has subsisted even to the present times: and in the second place, that the state and real circumstances of the facts themselves might declare the truth of what we have affirmed, concerning the genius and the spirit of the Achæan Commonwealth. For from these it will be evident, that that Equality and Liberty, upon which the Republick first was founded, have been the chief causes of it's great increase. To which we may also add, the constancy and unshaken resolution, with which they never cease to wage perpetual war against all those who, either by their own power, or with the assistance of the neighbouring Kings, attempt to force their cities into slavery. Upon these principles, and by this conduct, they brought their work to it's desired perfection: using partly their own strength, and partly that of their Allies. For all the assistance, which they received afterwards from these, was applied solely to promote the grand purpose of their government. And even after those great exploits, which they performed jointly with the Romans, they were not in the least ambitious of obtaining any private advantage to themselves; nor ever claimed any other reward for all their services, than the establishment of the common liberty, in the union of all the States of Peloponnesus. The truth of these remarks will, I say, be confirmed beyond all doubt, by the recital of the facts.

The cities, which we have just now mentioned, remained under this form of government during the course of twenty-five years: in which time, they elected annually two Prætors, and a common Secretary. But afterwards, they chose to place the whole administration in one single Prætor. The first who obtained that honour, was Marcus of Carynia. Four years after this Prætorship, Aratus the Sicyonian, though he was then no more than twenty years old, by his bravery and courage gave liberty to his country, and joined it to the Achæan League: for he had always greatly admired the constitution

of this Republick. Eight years afterwards, being himself elected Prætor of the Achæans for the second time, he found means to take Acrocorinthus by surprize, in which Antigonus had then a garrison. By gaining this important place, he delivered all the people of Peloponnesus from no small apprehensions; restored the Corinthians to their liberty; and engaged them to become a part of the Achæan Government. In the course of the same year, he made himself master of the city of Megara by some secret management, and joined it likewise to the Confederacy. This was the year before the final defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily; which forced them to abandon all the Island, and pay a Tribute to the Romans. Thus Aratus in a short time greatly enlarged the growing power of the Achæans: and ever afterwards, as long as he was employed in the administration of their affairs, his conduct was uniform and constant, and never deviated from the points which he had at first in view: to drive the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus; to destroy the Tyrants every where; and restore to the people all their natural rights, and that common liberty which their ancestors had before enjoyed.

During the lifetime of Antigonus Gonatas, it was a task of no small difficulty, to resist on one hand the intrigues and artful policy of that Prince, and the rapaciousness and bold ambition of the Ætolians on the other. For these two Powers had advanced so far together in their unjust attempts, that they even formed the project of a league, for the intire destruction of the Achæans. But Aratus, by his wisdom and indefatigable pains, effectually broke and frustrated the design.

After the death of this Prince, the Achæans entered into a treaty of alliance with the Ætolians, and assisted them in the war against Demetrius. By this compliance, all past jealousies were removed: and their former enmity gave place to confidence and friendship. When Demetrius was also dead, after a reign of ten years only, and about the time in which the
Romans

Romans first passed into Illyria, the Achæans found this conjuncture to be highly favourable to them for advancing their designs. For all the Tyrants of Peloponnesus were now disheartened, and diffident of their future safety. They had lost their Master and their Chief: the Sovereign, by whom they were supported and maintained in pay. On the other hand, Aratus urged them close: and shewed his resolution to abolish every Tyranny. He promised great rewards and honours to those that would voluntarily submit: and threatened ruin and extreme punishment to all such as should refuse. By these means they were all engaged to divest themselves of the Royal power; to restore liberty to their several cities; and to unite them to the Achæan League. Lyfiadas, the Tyrant of Megalopolis, whose wise discernment taught him to foresee what would shortly happen, had resigned his Dignity, and joined his country to the Republick, even in the lifetime of Demetrius. His example was now followed by Aristomachus, the Tyrant of Argos: and by Xeno and Cleonymus, the Tyrants of the Hermionians and Phliasians.

The Ætolians, who were by nature rapacious and unjust, could not behold without envy this great increase of the Achæan power and strength. They began to flatter themselves with secret hopes of breaking the Confederacy, and enriching themselves with the spoil. As they had formerly shared with Alexander the towns of Acarnania, and had afterwards formed the project of dividing also between Antigonus Gonatas and themselves the cities of Achaia, they were now persuaded, that it would be no hard task to carry into execution this last design. With this view, they resolved to concert the matter first in private with Antigonus, the Guardian of young Philip, and with Cleomenes King of Lacedæmon, and to demand assistance from those Princes. They knew, that Antigonus at this time governed Macedon in full security; and that he was the declared and open enemy of the Achæans,

because they had taken Acrocorinthus from him by surprize. They imagined therefore, that if they could once inspire the Lacedæmonians with the same hostile disposition, and engage them into this design, the Achæans, attacked at once on every side as occasion should direct, must necessarily sink beneath the efforts of their united forces. In truth, the prospect of success seemed very fair and promising. But in concerting this project, one circumstance of great moment was forgot. For it never once occurred to their reflection, that Aratus was the man, who was to oppose all their measures, and counteract their motions: a man, whose abilities were superior to every difficulty. And indeed so effectually did he oppose them, defeating all their counsels, and turning their projects to their own destruction, that this unjust and unprovoked attack, instead of accomplishing any part of that which was intended from it, served only to give new life and vigour to the Achæan Commonwealth. We shall give a distinct and clear account of the manner in which the whole was then conducted.

When Aratus saw, that the Ætolians were restrained by shame, from declaring themselves the open enemies of the Achæans, from whom they had received great services in the war against Demetrius; yet that they were acting in private concert with the Lacedæmonians, and had suffered their jealousy, and their hatred of the Achæans, to carry them to such excess, that, when Cleomenes had taken by surprize Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenus, which were at that time not only in alliance with the Ætolians, but associated also to their government, they not only shewed no resentment of this insult, but even yielded to him the full possession of those cities; when he saw, that a Nation, whose character it was to declare war upon the slightest pretexts, even against those from whom they had received no wrong, was now on a sudden so much changed, that they not only bore with patience an

an attack made upon them in direct breach of treaties, but were even content to give up all their claim to three cities of importance, that by means of this new strength Cleomenes might be able to maintain the war against the Achæans: when Aratus, I say, and the rest of the Chiefs of the Republick, had fully considered and debated all these circumstances, the result of their deliberations was, that they would not yet take arms avowedly against any Power, but only hold themselves in readiness to oppose all attempts that should be made against them. This was their first determination. But some time afterwards, when Cleomenes had built the Fortrefs, called Athenæum, in the Megalopolitan territory, and began to act against them in a hostile manner without reserve, the Achæans then called a general Council, and it was there resolved, that war should be declared against the Lacedæmonians.

Such was the beginning of that which is called the Cleomenic War. The Achæans at first designed to employ their own proper forces only, in defence of their State and country. For it seemed less honourable, to owe their safety to a foreign army: and they were willing also to preserve the friendship of King Ptolemy; to whom they were indebted for many favours; and who on that account might perhaps shew some resentment, if they now invited any other Power to their assistance. But as the war began to advance fast upon them, and was pressed with equal vigour and dexterity by Cleomenes, who had subverted the lawful constitution of his country, and established a Tyranny in Sparta, Aratus, having carefully weighed the danger, and made due reflection also upon the daring spirit, and malicious disposition of the Ætolians, perceived that it was necessary to have recourse in time to some expedient, which might divert the fatal consequences that were in view. In this design, he turned his eyes towards Antigonus, whom he knew to be a Prince of perfect judgement and experience; at all times ready to make alliances, as
occasion

occasion should require ; and punctual in observing them when made. But he remembered also, that Kings naturally bear neither enmity nor friendship towards any ; but are in both determined by the rule of interest alone. He resolved therefore to explain at large to Antigonus the dangers that would probably arise, even against himself, from the present situation of affairs in Greece ; and endeavour by that means to draw him to his party, and engage him to join his forces with the Achæans. It was requisite however, that he should keep this resolution for some time secret. For he knew, that if it should be once discovered, Cleomenes and the Ætolians would employ every art to defeat his purpose. He was apprehensive also, that it might too much depress the courage of his countrymen, if he should seem to despair of saving the Republick by it's own genuine forces : and more especially, if he should now apply for succour to the Macedonians, whom they always had regarded as their enemies. In the conduct therefore of this whole design, he was forced to employ the greatest secrecy and caution ; and both to speak and act, in a manner very opposite to his real sentiments. And from hence it happens, that many circumstances, which relate to this transaction, are omitted in his Memoirs.

When he saw then, that the Megalopolitans were the first and greatest sufferers in the war, both because their country lay nearest to Lacedæmon, and because the Achæans were themselves too much embarrassed to send the succours to them that were necessary ; when he considered also, that this people were already favourably disposed towards the House of Macedon, on account of some good offices which they had received from Philip the son of Amyntas ; he made no doubt, but that as soon as the war should become too heavy for their strength, they would immediately have recourse to Antigonus and the Macedonians. He sent therefore for Nicophanes and Cercidas ; two Megalopolitans, who had formerly been connected

connected with his Family by the ties of hospitality ; and who by their abilities were very capable of promoting his design. To these he privately disclosed his project : and, with their assistance, soon afterwards engaged the Megalopolitans to send some Deputies to the Achæan States, requesting their permission to invite Antigonus to their assistance. Nicophanes and Cercidas were themselves appointed for the embassy : and their instructions were, to proceed without delay to the Court of Macedon, in case that the Achæans should approve of the design.

The Achæans yielded their consent ; and the Deputies began their journey without delay, and were admitted to a conference with the King. With respect to their own particular country, they spoke in few words only, what the occasion seemed barely to require. But they enlarged more copiously upon the general situation of affairs in Greece ; according to the instructions, which they had received in private from Aratus. They explained the views of the Ætolians and Cleomenes ; shewed the tendency of their designs ; and warned the King of the fatal consequences, that were likely to result from this confederacy. For though the Achæans only were most imminently threatened, yet the danger must at last extend even to Antigonus himself. It was clear to every judgment, that the Achæans could not long maintain their ground, against the efforts of two so powerful enemies. Nor was it less clear and evident, that Cleomenes and the Ætolians would never be contented with the conquest of the Achæans only. For such was the disposition of the Ætolians, that the bounds, not only of Peloponnesus, but even of Greece itself, would be thought too narrow for their rapaciousness and wild ambition. And though the whole design and purpose of Cleomenes seemed at present to aim at nothing more, than the supreme Command in Peloponnesus, yet when this should be once obtained, there was no room to doubt, but that he would immediately

mediately enlarge his views, and endeavour to seize the sovereignty of the rest of Greece; at which he never could arrive, but by the ruin of the Macedonian Monarchy. They therefore advised the King, to turn his thoughts upon the future: and to consider with himself, whether it would not be far more suited to his interests, to join his forces with the Achæans and Bœotians, and contend with Cleomenes in Peloponnesus for the supreme command of Greece, than, by neglecting at this time to save a great and powerful nation, to be forced at last to maintain a war in the very heart of Thessaly, and defend his own proper kingdom, against the united forces of the Ætolians and Bœotians, the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. They farther added, that if the Ætolians, softened by the remembrance of the services which they had received from the Achæans in the war against Demetrius, should forbear to take arms against them, they would themselves stand singly against the efforts of Cleomenes, and should want no foreign succours, unless the fortune of the war should prove in all points contrary to their hopes. But in case that the success should fail to answer their endeavours, or the Ætolians declare themselves their enemies, they then earnestly besought Antigonus, that he would interpose without delay, and give safety to the States of Peloponnesus, while there was yet time to save them. With regard to any terms of caution and security, they assured the King, that Aratus would take care to find such expedients, as should fully satisfy all parties: and that he would send him notice also of the time, in which it would be seasonable for him to begin his march to their assistance.

Antigonus was convinced that this kind of reasoning was perfectly just and solid; and began to apply his whole attention to the affairs that were before him. He sent letters to the Megalopolitans, assuring them that he was ready to assist them
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with his forces, in case that the Achæans should approve of the design.

When Nicophanes and Cercidas were returned, and had delivered the letters, and made report of the favourable inclinations of the King, the Megalopolitans, being greatly pleased with their success, sent in all haste to the Council of the Achæans, and pressed them to invite Antigonus without delay, and leave to him the whole conduct of the war. Aratus likewise, when he had heard in private from Nicophanes of the disposition which the King had shewn with respect both to the Achæans and himself, was beyond measure filled with joy. He now perceived, that he had not bestowed his pains upon a vain or fruitless project: and that Antigonus was by no means so intirely alienated from him, as the Ætolians had believed. He judged it also to be a most happy circumstance, that the Megalopolitans, in referring to Antigonus the care of their affairs, had resolved to use the mediation of the Achæan States. For his first wish was, that there might be no want at all of foreign succours. But if necessity should force them to have recourse to any such assistance, he rather chose, that the application should be made by all the States of Achaia, than by himself. For there seemed to be some cause to fear, that if Antigonus, when he had first subdued the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes, should engage in any ill designs against the Republick of the Achæans, the blame would all be imputed to Him alone: since all men would consider such a conduct as the effect of a just resentment, for the injury that had been done to the Macedonians by Aratus, in taking Acrocorinthus from them. When the Megalopolitans therefore had shewn the Letters in the Council of the Achæans, and conjured them to invite Antigonus to their assistance without delay; and when the people began to declare aloud their readiness to comply with this request; Aratus came forwards in the Assembly, and spoke largely in praise of the zeal and

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good inclinations of Antigonus, and commended also the disposition of the people. But he exhorted them in the most earnest and pathetick manner, "to employ in the first place their utmost efforts, and endeavour by every expedient, to defend their cities and their country, by their own genuine forces: that both their honour and their interest required it from them: And in case that fortune should fail to give success to their endeavours, that it would then be early enough to implore the assistance of their friends, when they had first been forced to abandon all hopes of safety from themselves."

These sentiments were applauded by the whole Assembly. They resolved therefore to adhere to this opinion, and sustain the war alone. But some time afterwards, when King Ptolemy, being persuaded that the Lacedæmonians would be able to assist him more effectually than the Achæans in the designs which he had formed against the Kings of Macedon, had rejected the alliance of the Achæans, and engaged to furnish Cleomenes with such supplies, as might enable him to carry on the war against Antigonus; when the Achæans had been surprized by Cleomenes upon their march, and suffered great loss near Lycæum; when they had also been a second time defeated in the Laodician Plains near Megalopolis, in which action Leusiadas was slain; and lastly, when they had suffered a complete and dreadful overthrow in a general engagement, at a place called Hecatombæum in the Dymeian territory; their affairs were then so desperate, that, without any new delay, they with one voice agreed to invite Antigonus to their assistance. Aratus sent his own Son to the King, to settle the terms of their agreement. But there was one point, which caused no small embarrassment. It was not probable, that Antigonus would march to their relief, unless Acrocorinthus should be first restored; and the city of Corinth likewise yielded to him for his Place of Arms. But the Achæans would not venture to surrender Corinth, without the
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consent of the inhabitants. Some little delay was therefore made in their deliberations; till an expedient could be found, and such sureties offered, as might satisfy the King.

In the mean time Cleomenes, having spread great terror every where by those victories that have now been mentioned, advanced at leisure through the country; drawing the cities to submission, some by gentle means, and some by force. In this manner he gained Caphya, Pellene, Pheneum, Argos, Phlius, Cleone, Epidaurus, Hermiona, Træzen, and lastly Corinth; and then went and incamped before Sicyon. Happily these rapid conquests freed the Achæans from that great difficulty, which had obstructed all their measures. For no sooner had the inhabitants of Corinth commanded all the Achæans to leave the city, and sent a deputation to Cleomenes to invite him to take possession of it, than Aratus, having now obtained a fair and honest pretext, surrendered Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Thus he wiped away at once all remembrance of his former offence against the House of Macedon; gave a strong assurance of the sincerity of his intentions, with regard to the present Treaty; and furnished the Macedonians with a commodious Place of Arms for the approaching war.

C H A P. IV.

AS soon as Cleomenes heard, that the Achæans had concluded a treaty with Antigonus, he marched from before Sicyon, and incamped upon the Isthmus. He cast up an intrenchment round all the space that lay between Acrocorinthus and the Onian mountains: and persuaded himself, that he was now secure of obtaining the sovereignty of Peloponnesus.

Antigonus had long ago completed all his preparations, and waited only for the proper time of action, as Aratus had advised. But when he saw the rapid progress of Cleomenes, he began to apprehend, that this Prince would soon advance, and

attack him even in the very heart of Thessaly. He sent word therefore to the Achæans, that they should be punctual in the execution of the measures that had been concerted; and himself began his march with the army towards the Isthmus, through Eubœa. For the Ætolians, among other expedients which they contrived to prevent Antigonus from lending any assistance to the Achæans, had sent him notice, that his army should have no passage through Thermopylæ; and in case he should attempt to march that way, that they would oppose him by force of arms.

While Antigonus and Cleomenes lay in opposite camps upon the Isthmus, the one watching his opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus, the other ready to oppose his entrance, the Achæans, though much weakened by their losses, still maintained their courage, and resolved to pursue the war with vigour. And when Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, had formed a party in the place against Cleomenes, they immediately sent away Timoxenus with a body of forces, who made themselves masters of the city. This happy accident gave instantly a new face to their affairs. For so effectually did it depress the ardour of Cleomenes, and damp the courage of his army, that though this General was possessed of all the advantageous posts, and furnished with supplies of every kind in greater abundance than Antigonus; though he was far more bold and enterprizing than that Prince, and more strongly animated by the love of glory; yet no sooner had he received the news that Argos was taken by the Achæans, than he at once abandoned all his conquests, and rather fled, than retreated, homewards; as if he had feared, that the enemy would soon surround him on every side. In his way, he found means to enter Argos, and for some time had hopes of recovering the city; but was at last repulsed. For as the Achæans maintained their post with courage, so the inhabitants especially resisted with a more than common force and obstinacy; as
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if they had designed to make atonement for their past offence, in having embraced his party. When this attempt had failed, he continued his route through Mantinea, and returned again to Sparta.

Antigonus now entered Peloponnesus without resistance; took possession of Acrocorinthus; and advanced with great celerity to Argos: from whence, when he had first bestowed high commendations upon the courage of the inhabitants, and settled the affairs of the city, he continued his march towards Arcadia. He drove out the garrisons from all the forts that had been built by Cleomenes, in the territory of the Ægians and Belminates, and filled them with the troops of Megalopolis. He went afterwards to Ægium; and was present in the Council of the Achæan States. He there shewed at large the motives of his conduct: proposed his sentiments with regard to the future operations of the war: and was declared the General in chief of the Allies.

After some time spent in winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth, as the Spring now advanced, he again began his march with the forces, and arrived in three days before Tegea: and being joined there by the Achæans, he immediately invested the town. The siege was pushed by the Macedonians with so much vigour, as well by mining as by the other methods of attack, that the inhabitants in a short time lost all hope, and submitted at discretion. Antigonus, having secured the place by a sufficient garrison, advanced in haste towards Laconia. When he approached the frontiers, he engaged the Lacedæmonians, who were there incamped, in some light skirmishes, hoping to draw on a general battle. But having received notice by his Spies, that the garrison of Orchomenus had retired from the place and joined Cleomenes, he immediately decamped, and directing his march that way, took the town in the first assault. He next laid siege to Mantinea, which was struck with terror, and surrendered.

dered. Marching from thence, he gained Heræa and Telphussa, which were yielded voluntarily to him by the inhabitants; and afterwards, as the summer now was past, returned again to Ægium, to be present at the Council of the States. He sent away the Macedonians, to take their winter quarters in their own country: while himself staid behind at Ægium; to deliberate with the Achæans on the measures that were proper to be pursued.

When Cleomenes saw, that the Macedonians were dismissed, and that Antigonus was left in Ægium with only the mercenary troops; that he was distant full three days journey from Megalopolis; that this City, on account both of it's great extent, and the small number of the inhabitants, could not easily be guarded against an enemy; that at this time especially, it actually was guarded with less attention than before, because Antigonus was near; and that the greater part of the citizens, who were of age to bear arms, had been already lost, in the engagements near Lycæum and the Laodician Plains; he found means, with the assistance of some Messenian Exiles who at that time resided in the place, to enter the city privately by night. But when day appeared, the inhabitants maintained their ground with so much bravery, that he found himself in the greatest danger, not only of being forced back again with loss, but of suffering an intire defeat: as it had happened to him about three months before, when he made the same attempt, and entered the city in the part that was called Colæum. At this time however, as his forces were very numerous, and had seized on all the advantageous posts, he at last accomplished his design; drove out the Megalopolitans; and made himself master of the place: which he immediately pillaged and destroyed with so much bitterness of rage and fury, as left no hope, that it ever could again be inhabited. This severe treatment seems to have flowed from no other cause than the mere resentment of Cleomenes: who was enraged to find, that

that among all the Megalopolitans and Stymphalians, not one could be prevailed upon at this conjuncture to embrace his interests, and betray the liberties of his fellow-citizens. Among the Clitorians indeed, a generous people, and passionately fond of freedom, there was found a single Traitor, named Thearces, whose baseness seemed to cast some infamy upon his country. But the Clitorians upon that account very reasonably deny, that he derived his birth from them: and declare him to have been the spurious and deserted Offspring of a soldier from Orchomenus.

In composing this part of my history, as I have chiefly followed Aratus for my guide, and drawn my materials from him, and as many persons are inclined to prefer Phylarchus, who gives a very different account of these transactions, I think it necessary to bestow in this place some little observation upon the talents and capacity of this Historian; that his Relations, which indeed are fabulous and false, may no longer possess that credit, which ought only to be paid to those that are genuine and true.

This Writer then, through every part of his performance, has shewn abundant proofs of haste, inaccuracy, want of judgement and discernment. But it is not my design to enter into a critical examination of them all. I shall at present consider his accounts of those transactions only, which fall within the period of the Cleomenic War. And these indeed will be sufficient, not only to explain his sentiments, and the temper with which he wrote, but to shew also in what degree he was possessed of those abilities that are requisite for such an Undertaking.

In order to expose the cruelty of Antigonus and the Macedonians, and of Aratus and the Achæans, he relates, that the Mantineans, after they had been conquered by them, were punished in a manner the most severe: and that the largest and most ancient City of all Arcadia was condemned to struggle with such calamities, as filled the Greeks with astonishment
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and horror, and melted them into tears. He then endeavours to move his readers to compassion, and force them even to feel the sufferings which he relates: setting in view before them the companies of unhappy women, joined together in embraces, striking their bare bosoms, and tearing their disheveled hair: and describing the lamentations and the tears of husbands and their wives, who, together with their children and their aged parents, were dragged away in promiscuous crouds to slavery. Thus it is that in every part of his Work, his chief pains and art are constantly employed in painting scenes of misery and horror. But surely there is no need to use many words, to explode a kind of writing so mean and womanish. Let us consider rather, what is the genuine and proper character, and what the peculiar use, of History.

An Historian then, instead of endeavouring, like the writers of Tragedy, to strike the reader with admiration or with terror, instead of dressing up probable speeches, and enumerating all the circumstances that might possibly have followed after every accident, should be satisfied with giving a bare relation of such facts and discourses as really happened, though perhaps they may contain nothing great or elevated. For the nature and design of Tragedy are very different from those of History. The business of the former is, to strike and captivate the minds of the hearers for the present moment, by such representations as are barely probable: whereas History professes to give lessons of improvement even to future times, by relating such discourses and events as are strictly true. In the one therefore, the Probable, though false, may be sufficient to conduct us to the end in view, which is amusement and delight: but the other, whose proper work is to convey instruction, must be always built on Truth.

In recounting all these dismal accidents, Phylarchus is for the most part silent also with respect to the cause and motives by which they were occasioned. And yet, unless we are previously

previously informed of these, it is not possible to know, whether the case can reasonably lay claim either to our indignation or our pity. It is, for instance, a lamentable spectacle, to see a free man whipped with rods. But when this is the proper punishment of his crimes, it must be allowed to have happened justly to him: and whenever it is done for the sake of discipline and reformation, we even applaud those persons who inflict it. To take away the life of a citizen, is considered as a most horrid crime, and such as calls for the severest vengeance. Yet a man may openly destroy an adulterer or a robber, without any fear of being punished for it. And those who rescue their country from a traitor or a tyrant, are even thought worthy of the greatest honours. It is manifest therefore, that in order to pass a perfect judgement on any action, instead of barely contemplating the act itself, we should examine the causes that produced it, together with the intention and the views of those by whom it was done: for agreeably to the difference that is found in these, the action will be likewise different.

With regard to the fact which occasioned these reflections, the truth is as follows. The Mantineans, without any provocation or excuse, had deserted the Achæan Confederacy, and delivered up their country and themselves, first to the Ætolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes, and were joined by him to the Lacedæmonian State. In these circumstances, about four years before the arrival of Antigonos, they were conquered by the Achæans, with the assistance of a party that Aratus had gained within the city. But so far were they from being exposed at this time to any severe or cruel treatment in resentment of their offence, that on the contrary all Greece talked loudly of the sudden change, which seemed to have been effected in the disposition of these people towards each other. For when Aratus had made himself master of the city, he strictly forbade his soldiers to touch any of the

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goods of the inhabitants. And having afterwards called the people together, he exhorted them to resume their courage, and remain satisfied in their present state: for that as long as they would consider themselves as a part of the Achæan Government, they might live in perfect freedom and security. An indulgence so unexpected, and which so far exceeded all their hopes, changed at once the inclinations of the Mantineans. They no longer remembered the friends whom they had lost in battle, or the dangers to which themselves had been exposed: but embraced the Achæans, who so lately were their enemies; admitted them to their houses and their feasts; and strove to express their joy by every act of hospitality and kindness. And this indeed was highly reasonable. For certainly no people ever fell into the hands of a more merciful and more generous enemy: or escaped, with so little difficulty, from those calamities that are esteemed the greatest in human life. A happiness, which they intirely owed to the humanity of Aratus and the Achæans.

Some time afterwards, this people, being disturbed by some intestine tumults, and apprehensive also of some danger from the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, requested from the Achæans a garrison for their security. The Achæans chose by lot three hundred of their own citizens: who all left their country and their fortunes, and went and resided in Mantinea, to watch over the liberties and safety of that city. They added also to them a body of two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans not long afterwards, taking occasion from some new dissensions which broke out among them, called in the Lacedæmonians, delivered their city to them, and killed all the Achæans that were in the place. A Perfidy, more horrible and impious, than can be well expressed. For though they had resolved to disclaim the friendship of the Achæans, and forget all the favours which they had received from their Republick, yet they ought at least to have sent home unhurt those

those troops which they had before admitted as Allies: since by the laws of nations, this indulgence is always granted even to an enemy. But the Mantineans resolved to violate these laws; insult the common rights of mankind; and perpetrate an inexpressible crime; that by such a conduct, they might be able more strongly to assure Cleomenes of their zeal and close attachment to his cause. This action surely might in justice draw after it the heaviest resentment. To embroil their hands in the blood of those, by whom themselves, when they had fallen into their power not long before, were dismissed with pardon; and who at this very moment were employed in defending the liberties and safety of their city: what, let me ask, would have been the proper punishment for such a crime? It will perhaps be said, that as soon as they were conquered, they should have been sold for slaves together with their wives and children. But this is no more than what is usually permitted by the laws of war, even against those who have not been guilty of any uncommon wickedness. The Mantineans therefore deserved to be treated in some more rigorous manner. And if they had even been involved in all that wretchedness which is described at large by Phylarchus, it would have been so far from exciting the Greeks to sympathy and compassion, that on the contrary they must have applauded those, who took care not to leave so great a crime unpunished. But in truth the whole which they suffered was, that their goods were pillaged, and the citizens exposed to sale. It is clear therefore, that Phylarchus, in order to surprize and strike the reader, has invented not only a mere heap of falsehoods, but such falsehoods too, as bear not any shew of probability: while, through an excess of ignorance, he makes no mention of a fact that was coincident with that which he relates, and which might very properly have been connected with it. For when the Achæans, at this very time, had taken the town of Tegea by storm, they used none of the

same severity towards the inhabitants. Yet if the sufferings of the Mantineans had been the bare effect of a cruel disposition in their enemies, it seems reasonable to suppose, that the people of Tegea would have been treated also with equal rigour. But as the Mantineans alone were punished with severity, it is manifest beyond all doubt, that the conduct of the Achæans must of necessity be ascribed to some other cause.

In another place he relates, that Aristomachus, a man of an illustrious family, descended from a line of Tyrants, and who was himself Tyrant of Argos, having fallen alive into the hands of Antigonus and the Achæans, was conducted to Cenchreæ, and there put to death in tortures the most merciless and cruel, that ever were inflicted upon man. And then, after his usual manner, he goes on to describe the loud and moving lamentations of the unhappy sufferer, which were heard at midnight through all the neighbourhood: that some were struck with horror; while some doubted of the fact: and that others, inflamed with indignation, ran in crouds towards the house from whence the cries proceeded. But let us pass over these scenes of terror and amazement, which have already been sufficiently exposed. In my judgement then, though Aristomachus had been guilty of no offence against the Achæans, the whole tenor of his life, and the wicked tyranny which he had exercised upon his country, might very deservedly have drawn upon him the severest punishment. Yet Phylarchus, with design to throw a greater splendour on his character, and more effectually to raise the indignation of the reader, declares, not only that he was himself a Tyrant, but that he was descended also from a race of Tyrants: an accusation in itself the heaviest, that can be well conceived. For the very Name of Tyrant includes the full extent of wickedness; and implies the commission of every kind of crime which man can perpetrate. But in truth if he had been forced to suffer the
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most cruel punishment, as this Historian relates, he never could have made by it a due atonement for the transactions of one single day : the day, when Aratus entered Argos with a body of Achæans, and gloriously exerted all his efforts, to restore liberty to the city ; but was forced at last to retire, because his party within the walls were restrained from joining him, through apprehension of the Tyrant. For Aristomachus, on pretence that the inhabitants were secretly engaged in the design, and had favoured the entrance of the Achæans, seized eighty of the chief among the citizens, and caused them to be put to death in torture, even before the eyes of their friends and families.

I forbear to relate the whole of his flagitious life, with the crimes which his ancestors before him had committed. The task would be too tedious. If at last then he was forced to suffer in some degree that cruel treatment which he had practised against others, this surely cannot be esteemed too severe or shocking. It should rather raise our indignation, if such a man had died, without being first exposed to any kind of vengeance or calamity. Nor ought it to be censured as an instance of injustice in Antigonus and Aratus, that when they had fairly taken him in war, they put him to death in torture ; since, if they had treated him with the same severity even during the time of peace, the action must have been applauded by all men of sense.

But if, besides his other crimes, he was guilty likewise of the worst ingratitude and perfidy towards the Achæans, what punishment will he then be thought to have deserved ? Yet this was in truth the fact. For when the death of Demetrius had left him naked and defenceless, so that he was constrained to lay down his sovereignty, he found, beyond all his hopes, a safe and honourable refuge in the generous clemency of the Achæans : who not only covered him from the punishment that was due to his past Tyranny, but received him into their

their Republick, and even yielded to him the greatest honours of the State: for he was raised to be their General and Prætor. But no sooner had he conceived some hopes of recovering again his former fortune by the assistance of Cleomenes, than he forgot at once all the kindness that had been shewn towards him; separated his country from the Confederacy; and joined himself to the enemy, at the very time when the Achæans were in greatest want of his assistance. After such a baseness, instead of being put to a cruel death by night at Cenchreæ, as Phylarchus relates, he should rather have been led through all the towns of Peloponnesus, exposed to every kind of torture and indignity, and afterwards have been deprived of life. But in truth, this man, after all his wickedness, was only thrown into the sea, for some crimes that he committed during his stay at Cenchreæ.

This Historian seems to have been persuaded, that acts of violence or injustice were those which chiefly merited his attention. Hence it is that he exaggerates, and relates in the fullest and most pathetick manner, the sufferings of the Mantineans; but makes no mention of that glorious firmness, which appeared in the conduct of the Megalopolitans at this conjuncture. As if History should rather be employed in describing bad actions, than those that are laudable and virtuous: or that the reader would find less matter of instruction, in such examples as deserve to be admired and imitated, than in those which are fit only to be detested and avoided. In his account of the taking Megalopolis, he relates, that Cleomenes not only preserved the town from being pillaged, but sent letters also to the Megalopolitans, who had retired to Messene, and offered to restore their city to them, on condition only that they would embrace his interests. And this is done, with design to extol the magnanimity of Cleomenes, and his moderation towards his enemies. He then adds; that the Megalopolitans refused to hear the letters to the end,
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and were hardly restrained from stoning the messengers who brought them. But here his relation is concluded. With respect to all that should afterwards have followed, he is intirely silent: neglecting the most fair occasion, of performing that which is indeed the peculiar work of History: I mean, the task of recording a great and noble instance of uncommon constancy and resolution, and of recommending it to our praise and imitation. For if every publick testimony, by which we declare our affection and steady zeal for the interests of our allies, be esteemed a thing highly laudable and virtuous; if those, who can see their country wasted, or choose to sustain the miseries of a siege, rather than desert their friends, be thought worthy not only of applause, but of the greatest rewards and honours; what then must be our opinion of the Megalopolitans? how admirable their conduct; and how great their character? They saw their lands laid waste and pillaged by Cleomenes; and themselves constrained to abandon all their territory, for their attachment to the interests of the Achæans. Yet when beyond all hope they might have been again restored to their city and former fortunes, they chose still to be deprived of their estates, their sepulchres, temples, country; the dearest and most valuable possessions, of all that belong to man; rather than betray that faith, by which they had bound themselves to their allies. Can any thing be conceived more great and generous, than such a resolution? Or could any action better have deserved the attention of an historian; or have been more proper and effectual to excite his readers, punctually to observe all treaties, and to concur with their allies, in all things that may strengthen their confederacy, and fix their government upon solid grounds? But Phylarchus passes over the whole in silence: blind to merit the most illustrious; and through want of judgement unable to discern, what actions best deserved his notice.

In another place he affirms, that the Lacedæmonians gained
a booty

a booty of six thousand Talents from the spoils of Megalopolis: and that two thousand of them were, by the customary distribution, allotted to Cleomenes. It must surely seem a matter of surprize, that this writer should thus be found to want even that common knowledge, concerning the wealth and abilities of the Greeks, with which every Historian should especially be acquainted. For, not to speak of those calamitous times, in which the fortunes of this people were continually wasted by their wars against the kings of Macedon, and by civil wars among themselves; I may venture to declare, that even in the present age, when they live together in perfect peace and union, and possess all things in the greatest plenty, the sale of all the effects and riches of the whole province of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants alone excepted, would by no means be sufficient to produce so large a sum. That this is no vain surmise, but an opinion founded upon truth and reason, will most evidently appear, if we consider only the following fact, which is well established in history, and sufficiently known to all. When the Athenians, in conjunction with the Thebans, designed to attack the Lacedæmonians, and had raised an army of ten thousand men, with a fleet of a hundred Triremes; in order to defray the expences of the war, it was resolved to impose a tribute, proportioned to the estate of every citizen. For this purpose, when an estimate had been made of all the wealth and goods, the houses and lands of Attica, the whole was found to amount to no more than five thousand, seven hundred, and fifty Talents. From hence then we may very reasonably collect the truth of what I have affirmed concerning the people of Peloponnesus.

But with regard to the spoils of Megalopolis, we never can suppose with any shew of probability, that they exceeded, even at the highest valuation, three hundred Talents: since it is acknowledged, that the greater part, as well of the slaves

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as free citizens, escaped to Messene. With respect to this opinion likewise, the following instance must be allowed to be decisive. The Mantineans, both in wealth and numbers, are confessed even by Phylarchus himself to be inferior to none of the people of Arcadia. Yet when their city was surrendered after a siege, so that not a single person could escape, nor any part of their effects be easily concealed, the whole value of the plunder, with the inhabitants themselves included, amounted to no greater sum than that which I have mentioned.

What he afterwards relates, is still more wonderful. That ten days before the action, a messenger came from Ptolemy, to acquaint Cleomenes that the King would no longer furnish money for the war, but advised him to make peace with Antigonus: and that Cleomenes, when he had received this message, resolved immediately to force the enemy to a battle, before the troops should be informed of what had happened; because he was by no means able from his own revenues to support and pay the army. Yet if Cleomenes had so lately gained six thousand Talents, he surpassed even Ptolemy himself in wealth. And if he had possessed three hundred only, he might still have sustained the war against Antigonus, without any difficulty or distress. To affirm therefore, that Cleomenes was master of so great riches, and at the same time to declare, that he depended intirely on king Ptolemy for the necessary charges of the war, is a fault so gross, that it betrays the greatest want of judgement and capacity. Absurdities of the same kind with those that have been mentioned, are every where to be found in this Historian: not in his accounts of these times only, but in every part of his performance. But these, which I have here examined, will be sufficient for the present purpose.

C H A P. V.

AFTER the reduction of Megalopolis, and while Antigonus lay in winter quarters in the city of Argos, Cleomenes, having drawn his troops together in the beginning of the Spring, and encouraged them as the occasion required, immediately began his march, and threw himself into the midst of the Argian territory, with design to lay waste and plunder it. This step was thought by many to be much too bold and hazardous: because the entrance to the country lay through passes that were very strong and difficult. But others, of a better judgement, were persuaded that the attempt was both wise and safe. For Cleomenes was in the first place well assured, that as the Macedonian forces were now dismissed, his march into the Province would be perfectly secure from danger. He considered also, that when the inhabitants of Argos should behold the country wasted to their very walls, they would not fail to express their discontent by loud clamours against Antigonus: that, if this Prince, unable to withstand the reproaches of the multitude, should draw out his troops and venture on a battle, the Lacedæmonians might be sure to gain an easy victory: and on the other hand, if Antigonus should remain unmoved, and still keep himself behind the walls, he hoped at least that the attempt itself would serve to check the spirits of the enemy, and raise the courage of his own troops; and that afterwards he might retreat with safety. The event fully answered all his expectations. The people, enraged to see their country ruined, ran together in crouds, and threw out bitter invectives against the King. But Antigonus supported all their insults with such steadiness as was worthy of a General and a Prince: and being determined not to suffer any motives to prevail against the dictates of sense and reason, he remained quiet within the city. Cleomenes therefore,

fore, pursuing his design, wasted all the country : and having struck the enemy with no small terror, and greatly animated his own troops against the future dangers of the war, he returned back to Sparta without any loss.

On the approach of summer, when the Macedonians and Achæans had again taken the field, Antigonus began his march with all the forces, and directed his route towards Laconia. His army was composed of a Phalanx of Macedonians, which consisted of ten thousand men : of three thousand Macedonian Peltastæ, and three hundred Horse : one thousand Agrianians : as many Gauls : of other mercenaries, three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse : the same number of Achæans, all select men : with a thousand Megalopolitans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and commanded by Cercidas, a citizen of Megalopolis. Among the allies, the Bœotians sent two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse : the Epirots, one thousand Foot, and fifty Horse : and the Acarnanians, the same number. Besides these, there were sixteen hundred Illyrians, under the command of Demetrius of Pharos. So that the whole army consisted of about twenty-eight thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse.

Cleomenes, in expectation that the enemy would advance towards him, secured the other passages, by placing guards, cutting down trees, and casting up intrenchments, and then went and incamped near the place called Selafia with all his forces, which amounted to twenty thousand men. For he had rightly judged, that this was the side, by which Antigonus would attempt to force his entrance. This Pass is formed by two mountains, Eva and Olympus. Between them runs the river Oenus ; along the banks of which lies the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up an intrenchment before these mountains, stationed the allies upon mount Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas ; while himself took his post upon Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians and

one part of the mercenaries. The rest of the mercenaries, together with the Cavalry, were disposed in the plain below, on both sides of the road, along the river.

When Antigonus arrived, and had seen the strength of the posts in which the enemy were lodged, and that Cleomenes had assigned to every part of his army the station that was most commodious for it, with so true a skill and judgement, that the whole, being equally prepared both for attack and for defence, seemed not unlike to a company of Gladiators, all standing in their proper attitudes, and ready to engage; in a word, when he had seen, not only that the troops were disposed in the most advantageous manner to receive an enemy, but that the camp also was so strong on every side, that it could not be attacked without great danger; he resolved to remain for some time quiet, and not yet attempt to draw the enemy to a battle. He fixed his camp therefore at a moderate distance from them; having the river Gorgylus in his front.

In this situation he remained for some days; examining with great attention the nature and the situation of the several posts, as well as the strength, temper, and condition of the armies. Sometimes, by making a shew of having some design, he alarmed the expectations of the enemy, and made them attentive to his motions. But he soon found, that all his arts and stratagems were useless. For such was the care and vigilance of Cleomenes, who was still upon his guard wherever the danger seemed to threaten, that every part of the camp was secure from insult. At last these Generals, whom nature seemed to have formed alike both in sentiments and courage, agreed by joint consent to make the experiment of a decisive action.

To the forces that were stationed upon mount Eva, Antigonus opposed the Macedonians who were armed with brazen bucklers, and the Illyrians, ranged together in alternate cohorts,

horts, and commanded by Alexander the son of Acmetus, and by Demetrius of Pharos. The second line was composed of the Acarnanians and Cretans: who were followed by two thousand Achæans, as a body of reserve. The Cavalry, under the command of Alexander, was ranged along the river, opposite to the Cavalry of the enemy; and was supported by a thousand Achæan Foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. The King himself, with the Macedonians and the mercenaries, conducted the attack against Cleomenes upon mount Olympus. The mercenaries composed the first line; and after them followed the Macedonians, formed in the double Phalanx, one part of which was ranged behind the other: for the narrowness of the ground would admit no other disposition. The Illyrians, who had passed the river in the night, and stood in order, covered from the sight of the enemy, at the foot of mount Eva, were commanded to march up the mountain and begin the attack, as soon as they should see an Ensign of linen raised upon mount Olympus: and the signal for the Cavalry and the Megalopolitans, was to be a Vest of purple, hoisted near the King.

When the time of the attack was come, the necessary orders distributed among the troops, and the signal given to the Illyrians, they immediately all shewed themselves, and marched up the mountain to charge the enemy. But the light-armed forces, that were placed among the Cavalry of Cleomenes, having observed that the Achæans, as they were labouring to gain the summit of the hill, were not covered or supported from behind, advanced and fell suddenly upon their rear. And thus these troops, having Euclidas above them, ready to attack their front, and being at the same time pressed by the mercenaries behind, who ran forwards to the charge with great force and fury, were thrown into extreme danger. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, perceiving what had happened, and being well aware of the consequences of it, communicated his apprehensions

sions to the Generals. And when these paid no regard to his advice, because he was at that time extremely young, and had born no command in the army, he called aloud to his countrymen to follow him, and threw himself briskly upon the Cavalry of the enemy. The mercenaries, that were engaged with the rear, hearing the noise, and seeing what had happened, immediately left the charge, and hastened back again to their former post, to support and assist their Cavalry. By this means the Illyrians, Macedonians, and the rest of the troops that were marching up the mountain, being freed from the obstacle that had embarrassed and retarded them, advanced boldly against the enemy. So that the success, which afterwards was gained on this side against Euclidas, was intirely to be ascribed to the discernment and wise conduct of Philopœmen. And it is reported, that when the battle was ended, Antigonus, dissembling his knowledge of the truth, demanded of Alexander, who commanded the Cavalry, why he had begun the combat before the signal was made for it: and that when Alexander denied that he had done it, and said that a young man, a Megalopolitan, had given the charge in opposition to his orders, the King replied; "That young man then, by seizing the proper time for action, performed the part of a prudent and experienced General, and You, the General, the part of an ignorant young man."

With regard to Euclidas, he totally neglected the advantages which his situation gave him. For when he saw the enemy ascending the hill towards him, he should in prudence have advanced, and met them on the way; should have fallen upon them, and disturbed their ranks; and afterwards have retired again to the top of the hill. And thus, when he had first spread disorder through the ranks, and taken from them that superiority, which was peculiar to their arms, and to the manner in which they were ranged in battle, he might then, with the advantage of his post, have gained an easy victory against

against them. But so far was he from pursuing any of these measures, that on the contrary his troops stood still in their first station, as if assured of conquest; and seemed to have been persuaded, that if the enemy were permitted to gain the summit, this would only serve to render their flight back again more precipitate and fatal. But the event proved different from their expectations. For as the enemy advanced against them in close order, their ranks being all intire, Euclidas, for want of sufficient room behind for his army to retire or change their place, was thrown into the greatest difficulties, and forced to maintain the fight upon the very edge of the hill. In this situation, his troops could not long stand against the heavy arms and unbroken disposition of the enemy: but, as the Illyrians still pressed forwards, they still gave ground before them, and were at last constrained to take their flight along the steep and craggy sides of the mountain. Their disorder was then complete, and a general rout ensued.

During this time, the Cavalry on both sides were engaged. The Achæans, whose liberty was especially the subject of the contest, all exerted their bravest efforts. But Philopœmen signalized himself above the rest: and when his horse was killed under him in the action, he continued still to fight on foot, till he had received a wound which passed through both his thighs.

The two Kings began the combat upon mount Olympus with the light-armed troops and mercenaries, which amounted on either side to about five thousand men. The action, which was sometimes general, and sometimes maintained in parties, was remarkably warm and vigorous. For as the troops remembered that they stood beneath the eyes of their respective Sovereigns, and in full sight of both the armies, rank with rank, and man with man, all sustained the fight with the utmost bravery and spirit. But when Cleomenes perceived, that his Brother was intirely routed, and that the
Cavalry

Cavalry in the plain began to give ground likewise, being apprehensive that the enemy would soon attack him from every quarter, he resolved to level all his works, and draw out his forces in front on one side of the camp. The trumpets on both sides gave the signal for the light-armed troops to retire from the space that was between the armies. The Phalanxes come forwards with loud cries, turn their spears, and advance to the charge. The dispute was long and obstinate. Sometimes the Macedonians were repulsed by the bravery and vigour of the Lacedæmonians: and sometimes these gave ground, unable to stand against the shock of the Macedonian Phalanx. At last the troops of Antigonus, crouding close together the points of all their spears, and advancing against the enemy with all that weight and violence which are peculiar to the double Phalanx, forced them out of their intrenchments. The whole army fled in disorder, and a general slaughter ensued. But Cleomenes, with a few horsemen that attended him, escaped to Sparta, and from thence, as soon as night came on, went down to Gythium: and finding there some vessels, which by his orders had been long kept in readiness against all accidents, he presently embarked, together with his friends, and sailed away to Alexandria.

Antigonus made himself master of Sparta upon his first approach. He treated the inhabitants with the greatest generosity and clemency, and restored to them their ancient government. But some days afterwards, having received information, that the Illyrians had entered Macedon, and were plundering the country, he left the city, and directed his march back again with all his forces. So contrary are the events of things to all human foresight, even in affairs of the greatest moment. For if Cleomenes had declined a battle but for a few days only, or if after his retreat he had remained at Sparta, in expectation of some favourable accident, he might still have held possession of his kingdom.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, arriving at Tegea, restored the city to it's former state. Two days afterwards, he came to Argos, and was present at the Nemean Games. And when he had there received, both from the Achæan Republick in general, and from every particular city, such applause and honours as might serve to render his name illustrious to all posterity, he continued his march in haste towards Macedon; surprized the Illyrians in the country; engaged them in battle; and gave them an intire defeat. But the cries and shouts which he made with more than usual vehemence, to animate his soldiers during the time of the action, were followed by a great discharge of blood; which threw him into a disorder, that was fatal to him in a short time after. Thus were the Greeks deprived of a Prince, upon whom they had built the highest expectations: not so much on account of his skill in war; as because he had shewn himself, in all his conduct, to be a man of strict integrity, and a true friend to virtue. At his death, he left the kingdom to Philip the son of Demetrius.

As these transactions are connected with the period from whence I am to begin my History, I judged it to be proper, or rather necessary, in pursuing my first design, to relate them copiously and distinctly; that it might be from thence discerned, what was at that time the condition of the Macedonians and the Greeks. About the same time, Ptolemy also died of some disease; and Ptolemy Philopator succeeded to his kingdom. Seleucus, the son of Seleucus Callinicus who was also surnamed Pogon, being likewise dead, his Brother Antiochus reigned in Syria. For it is remarkable, that as those who first obtained these kingdoms after Alexander, I mean Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lyfimachus, all left the world in the hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, so the Princes just now mentioned died all together likewise in the hundred-thirty-ninth.

Thus then have we finished the foundation of our History,
B b and

and shewn in the course of this Introduction, at what time, in what manner, and upon what pretences, the Romans, after they had subdued the several parts of Italy, began first to extend their views abroad, and even contended with the Carthaginians for the empire of the sea; and have also fully explained the condition and former fortunes, of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Carthaginians. As we are now therefore arrived at the point which we had at first in view, the commencement of the Social War in Greece, of the War of Anibal against the Romans, and of that between the Kings of Asia for the Sovereignty of Cœle-syria, we shall here close this Book; having brought to their conclusion the Transactions which immediately preceded these wars, and seen the deaths of all the Princes who conducted them.

THE

THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Third. CHAP. I.

IT was mentioned in the first of the two preceding Books, that we had fixed the beginning of our History, at the commencement of the Social War; the War of Annibal; and that between Antiochus and Ptolemy, for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. In the same Book, we took occasion also to explain the reasons that inclined us to look back to an earlier age, and to relate, in the way of Introduction, the chief of those transactions which preceded this period. We now go on to give a clear and distinct description of these wars; together with the causes, to which they owed both their rise and greatness: but shall first premise a short account of the design and subject of our Work.

The chief intention then of this History is to shew, at what time, in what manner, and from what causes, the whole known World became subject to the Roman power. And since this great event had a known beginning, and is

allowed to have been completed likewise in a determinate course of time, it will be useful first to recapitulate all the chief transactions, which passed between the commencement of it and its completion. From this method, the reader will be able to acquire at once a right conception of all that we have undertaken to describe. For in the study of history, as in every other kind of science, as a general view of the whole enables the mind to form a truer judgement on the several parts, so on the other hand, a distinct survey of all the parts is also no less necessary for the right comprehension of the whole. We have already sufficiently explained the general form and purpose of our Work, and shewn the bounds of its extent. With regard to the several parts, the first in order are the wars just mentioned; the last, the subversion of the Macedonian Empire: and these together include a period of fifty-three years; which, in the number of great and wonderful events that were then produced, far surpasses any equal portion of time before it. In relating these transactions, we shall observe the following order; beginning at the hundred-fortieth Olympiad.

Having first explained the causes of the war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is most frequently called the War of Annibal, we shall shew, in what manner this General entered Italy, and gave so great a shock to the empire of the Romans, that they began to fear, that they should soon be dispossessed even of their proper country and seat of government: while their enemies, elate with a success, which had exceeded all their hopes, were persuaded that Rome itself must fall, as soon as they should once appear before it. We then shall speak of the alliance that was made by Philip with the Carthaginians, as soon as he had ended his war with the Ætolians, and settled the affairs of Greece. Next will follow the disputes between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, and the war that ensued between them for the sovereignty of Coele-syria:

Cœle-syria : together with the war, which Prusias and the Rhodians made upon the people of Byzantium ; with design to force them to desist from exacting certain duties, which they were accustomed to demand from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus. In this place we shall pause awhile, to take a view of the form and constitution of the Roman Government : and in the course of our inquiry shall endeavour to demonstrate, that the peculiar temperament and spirit of their Republick supplied the chief and most effectual means, by which this people were enabled, not only to acquire the sovereignty of Italy and Sicily, and to reduce the Gauls and Spaniards to their yoke, but to subdue the Carthaginians also, and when they had completed this great conquest, to form the project of obtaining Universal Empire. We shall add likewise a short digression, concerning the fate of Hiero's kingdom in Sicily : and afterwards go on to speak of those commotions that were raised in Ægypt, after the death of Ptolemy, by Philip and Antiochus : the wicked arts, by which those Princes attempted to share between themselves the dominions of the infant King : and the manner, in which the former of them invaded Ægypt, Samos, and Caria ; and the latter, Cœle-syria and Phœnicia. We then shall make a general recapitulation of all that was transacted by the Carthaginians and the Romans, in Spain, Sicily, and Afric : and from thence shall again remove the history to Greece, which now became the scene of new disorders. And having first run through the naval battles of Attalus and the Rhodians against king Philip, we shall next describe the war that followed between the Romans and this Prince ; together with the causes, circumstances, and conclusion of it. After these events, we shall relate, in what manner the Ætolians, urged by their resentment, called Antiochus from Asia, and gave occasion to the war between the Achæans and the Romans. And having explained the causes of that war, and seen the en-
trance

trance of Antiochus into Europe, we shall then shew the manner in which he fled back again from Greece; and afterwards, when he had suffered an intire defeat, was forced to abandon all the country on this side of mount Taurus. Next will follow the victories, by which the Romans gave an effectual check to the insolence of the Gauls; secured to themselves the sovereignty of the citerior Asia; and delivered the people of that country from the dread of being again exposed to the violence and savage fury of those barbarians. We shall then give some account of the misfortunes, in which the Ætolians and Cephallenians were involved; and of the war, which Eumenes sustained against Prusias and the Gauls of Greece: together with that of Ariarathes against Pharnaces. And after some discourse concerning the union, and form of government, of the confederate cities of Peloponnesus, which will be attended also with some remarks upon the growth and flourishing condition of the Republick of the Rhodians, we shall, in the last place, take a short review of all that has been before related; and conclude the whole with the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Ægypt, and the War with Perseus, which was followed by the intire subversion of the Macedonian Empire.

In the course of these events, we shall be able clearly to discern, by what kind of conduct the Romans gradually enlarged the limits of their power, till they had gained the sovereignty of the World. Now, if the bare contemplation of good and ill success could of itself enable us to form a right judgement on the conduct either of States or private men, we should here close our History, agreeably to our first design. For the period of fifty-three years, which contains the whole progress and advancement of the Roman greatness, is here concluded: and from this time, as all were ready to acknowledge, nothing more remained, than to receive laws from this Republick, and yield an absolute submission to it's sway. But the

the view only of the manner in which wars are terminated can never lead us into a complete and perfect knowledge, either of the conquerors, or the conquered nations: since in many instances, the most eminent and signal victories, through an injudicious use and application of them, have proved fatal and pernicious; as on the other hand, the heaviest ills of fortune, when supported with constancy and courage, are frequently converted into great advantage. On this account, it will be useful likewise to review the policy, which the Romans afterwards observed, in governing the countries that were thus subdued; and to consider also, what were the sentiments of the conquered States, with respect to the conduct of their masters: at the same time describing the various characters and inclinations of particular men, and laying open their tempers and designs, as well in private life, as in the affairs of government. From these inquiries, the people of the present times will be enabled to discern, how far their interest requires them to continue still in their dependance on the Romans: and posterity may also fully understand the whole civil policy of this great Republick, and pass a right judgement on it's defects and excellencies. And from hence indeed will arise the chief advantages, that are to be expected from this History, with regard both to the present, and to future times. For it ought never to be supposed, either by those who preside in States, or those who are willing to decide with truth concerning the manner in which they are administered, that the sole end of making war is victory. No wise man ever attacked his neighbours, for the sake only of returning superior from the field. The design of navigation is not barely to be transported from place to place. Nor is any art or science practised, with a view simply to acquire a knowledge in it. In all human actions, there is still some end proposed, either of pleasure, honour, or advantage, consequent to our pains and labour. To render therefore
this

this History complete and perfect, it will be necessary to lay open and explain the circumstances and condition of each several people, from the time when the contest was decided which gave to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, to the rise of new commotions and disorders. And as these too were of great importance, and attended with many uncommon incidents; and as I was myself engaged in the execution of some of them, in the conduct and contrivance of others, and was an eye-witness of almost all; I shall undertake the task of relating them at large, and begin as it were another History. The chief of these transactions were, the expeditions of the Romans against the Celtiberians and Vaccæans: the war which the Carthaginians made against Massanissa, a sovereign prince of Afric: and that between Attalus and Prusias in Asia. We shall also see the manner, in which Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, was driven from his dominions by Orofernes, assisted by Demetrius; and again by his own address recovered his paternal rights. We shall see Demetrius the son of Seleucus, after he had reigned twelve years in Syria, deprived of his kingdom and his life, by the conspiracy of the other Kings. About the same time, the Romans absolved those Greeks, that were accused of having secretly excited the war of Perseus, and permitted them to return to their own country. And not long afterwards the same Romans made war again upon the Carthaginians: at first intending to force them to remove the seat of their Republick; but afterwards with design to exterminate both their name and government, for reasons which I shall there endeavour to explain. And lastly, when the Macedonians had about this time broken their alliance with the Romans, and the Lacedæmonians were also separated from the Peloponnesian League, the ill fate of Greece received at once both its beginning and full accomplishment, in the loss of the common liberty.

Such

Such is the design of this Work : which, with the favourable aid of fortune, I hope to carry to it's destined end. But if my expectation should be frustrated, either through the shortness of my life, or the infirmities that are incident to mankind, yet I am persuaded that a subject so curious and important cannot fail to excite the attention of many able writers, who will esteem it a task well worthy of their pains, to finish what I shall leave imperfect.

As we have thus enumerated all the chief events of which we intend to treat, and given the reader a just conception both of the general plan of our Work, and of it's several parts, it is now time to remember what we have proposed, and to enter upon the beginning of our Subject.

AMong the Writers that have transmitted to us the history of Annibal, there are some who assign two causes of the second war between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The first, they say, was the siege of Saguntum ; and the other, the passage of the Carthaginians over the river Iberus, in direct breach of treaties. Now, that these two incidents were the beginning of the war, I shall readily allow : but by no means that they were the causes of it. It might with equal reason be affirmed, that the first irruption of Alexander into Asia, was the cause of his war against the Persians ; and the arrival of Antiochus with an army at Demetrias, the cause of that war which followed with the Romans. Yet nothing can be more absurd or false. For it is certain that Alexander, and indeed his Father Philip, had long before this time formed the project of an expedition into Persia, and made great preparations for it : and the Ætolians likewise were no less fixed in their design to excite a war against the Romans, before Antiochus came into Greece. Such mistakes arise from not remembering, that a distinction should be always made between the cause and pretext, and the beginning,

of a war; and that the first of these are in order always antecedent to the latter. To speak justly, the beginning is the first step towards the execution of any project, after it has been determined. The cause is previous to all determination. It is something that first suggests the project to the mind; that inclines us to examine it; to deliberate, determine, and at last to carry it into execution. I will endeavour more clearly to explain my meaning, by the following examples. The causes of the war against the Persians are obvious, and easy to be understood. The first was the retreat of the Greeks under the command of Xenophon; who, in their return from the upper provinces of Asia, traversed the whole country of their enemies, without being encountered by any force that was able to stand before them. The other was, the irruption of Agesilaus, King of Sparta, into Asia; where he found no strength sufficient to obstruct his progress: though indeed the troubles, that were then raised in Greece, constrained him to abandon his designs, and return back again without performing any action of importance. For Philip, having revolved these things in his mind, and compared the softness and effeminacy of the Asiatics with his own skill in war, and with the bravery of the Macedonian soldiers, and being invited also by the richness of the prize that was before him, had no sooner fully gained the favour of the States of Greece, than he resolved to turn his arms against the Persians, and began, with eagerness, to make all the preparations that were necessary for this design: at the same time declaring, that his purpose was, to avenge the injuries which the Greeks had received from Persia. It is clear therefore, that the things first mentioned were the causes of the Persian war, as the last was the pretext; and that the first entrance of Alexander into Asia was the beginning of it. In the same manner also, the resentment of the Ætolians must be considered as the cause of the war between Antiochus and the Romans. For this people, as we have already mentioned, being per-
suaded

suaded that the Romans, at the time of the conclusion of their war with Philip, had treated them in many points with great contempt and scorn, invited Antiochus into Greece; and resolved to attempt and suffer every thing, rather than leave their indignation unappeased. The pretext, by which Antiochus and the Ætolians endeavoured to engage the several cities into their design, and which indeed was founded neither on truth nor reason, was to restore liberty to Greece. And the beginning of the war was the arrival of Antiochus at Demetrius.

In making these reflections, it is not so much my intention to pass a censure upon those Historians, as to instruct the political reader in a point which ought at all times to be viewed with great attention. For a Statesman, that knows not how to trace the origin of events, and discern the different sources from whence they take their rise, may be compared with a Physician, who neglects to inform himself of the causes of those distempers which he is called in to cure. The services of both are alike useless and contemptible. And as the latter must be wholly unacquainted with the proper means of restoring the body to its lost health and vigour, so neither can it be supposed, that the former should ever be able to have recourse to the necessary remedies, in the disorders that are incident to States. Our pains therefore can never better be employed, than in searching out the causes of events. For the most trifling incidents frequently give birth to matters of the greatest moment and importance: and it is easier likewise, upon all occasions, to check or remedy an evil in its commencement, than when it has made some progress.

According to the Roman Historian Fabius, it was the insatiable ambition of Asdrubal, and his love of power, which, together with the injury that was done to the Saguntines, were the causes of the war. For Asdrubal, says this Writer, when he had first spread his conquests over a considerable part of

Spain, returned to Carthage, and there formed the project of subverting the laws and liberty of his country, and of changing the government into a Monarchy. But when the chief among the citizens had penetrated into his design, and were beginning to concert the proper measures to oppose it, he went back again to Spain, and, during the remainder of his life, governed the country by his own single will, and paid no regard to the Senate of Carthage. He then adds; that Annibal, who from his infancy had been instructed in all the counsels of this General, and had carefully observed his conduct as a right pattern for himself, was no sooner invested with the supreme command in Spain, than he resolved to pursue in all things the same scheme of government: that, agreeably to this determination, he made war upon the Romans; consulting in it his own inclinations only, and not the interests of his country: that the Carthaginians were averse to the war: and that not one citizen of rank in the whole Republick approved of his attacking the Saguntines. In the last place he relates; that as soon as Saguntum was destroyed, the Romans sent some deputies to Carthage, to require that Annibal should be surrendered into their hands, and to declare war, in case that this demand should be refused. Let us then ask this Writer: could the Carthaginians, if they were in truth dissatisfied with that which Annibal had done, ever hope to find an occasion more favourable to all their sentiments, or any expedient more just and advantageous, than what was now proposed: since by yielding to the demands of the Romans, and delivering up the author of the injury, they might at once have removed, in a specious manner, the man who was known to be an enemy to their State; secured their country from invasion; turned aside the dangers of the war that threatened them; and in a word, by a single decree only of the Senate, might have taken an effectual and sufficient vengeance for all that had been now transacted? This is a question,

question, to which the Roman historian can make no reply. For so far were the Carthaginians from pursuing any of these measures, that, on the contrary, they maintained the war under the sole direction and care of Annibal, during the course of seventeen years; nor ever were inclined to bring it to a conclusion, till all hopes of success were lost, and the safety of their country rendered almost desperate.

With regard to my design, in passing this censure on Fabius and his writings; I was not led to it by any apprehension, that his accounts would otherwise gain credit with the reader. For his inaccuracy and want of judgement are every where so discernable, that they need not be particularly pointed out. But I was willing just to caution those, who take his works into their hands, that they should consider always the facts themselves, rather than the character of the Writer. For there are some, whose prejudices so strongly favour him, because he was a Senator of Rome, and lived in the times of which he writes, that they admit, without any kind of doubt or hesitation, every thing which he relates. For my own part, as I do not think that his authority should be intirely disregarded, so neither can I allow it to have sufficient weight to decide in any point, unless it be supported also by the credibility of the facts. But it is time to finish this digression.

Among the true causes then of the second war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, the resentment and indignation of Amilcar Barcas, the father of Annibal, may justly be considered as one. Notwithstanding the ill success of this General in Sicily, his spirit remained unconquered; when he reflected, that he had preserved the forces, that were under his command at Eryx, still intire; and that all of them were animated by the same disposition as himself. After the last defeat of the Carthaginians by sea, which obliged them to sue for peace, he yielded indeed to the necessity of the times; but retained a strong desire of revenge, and only waited for an

an occasion to declare it. And in all probability his management would very suddenly have produced another war, if the disorders in which his country was then involved by the rebellion of the mercenaries had not engaged his whole attention.

No sooner were these troubles ended, than the Romans again declared war; and the Carthaginians, emboldened by the justice of their cause, seemed at first determined to accept it; as we mentioned in the former Books: which the reader will find to be so necessary an introduction to this Work, that, without their assistance, he will scarcely be able fully to comprehend either what I now write, or what hereafter may come to be related. But as their enemies paid no regard to this justice, the Carthaginians were forced to comply with what the times demanded; and, rather than submit to any hazard in their present circumstances, consented, though with great reluctance, to yield up Sardinia to the Romans, and to pay twelve hundred Talents, above the sum that had been before exacted from them.

These concessions are to be looked upon as the second, and indeed the principal cause of the war that followed. For Amilcar, observing that his own resentment was now strengthened by an equal degree of indignation in his fellow-citizens, had no sooner finished the destruction of the mercenaries, and secured the tranquillity of Carthage, than he applied all his thoughts to Spain; as the place, from whence he might best procure the necessary supplies for an expedition against the Romans. And the great success which he met with in that country may be considered as the third cause of the war: because nothing, but the strength and the resources which the Carthaginians drew from thence, could have inspired them with confidence to undertake it.

It might be shewn by many arguments, that Amilcar was the first author and contriver of the second Punic War, though

though he died ten years before the commencement of it: but what I am going to relate will sufficiently prove it beyond all doubt. At the time when Annibal, after his defeat in Afric and departure from his country, was entertained at the court of Antiochus, the Romans, having discovered the designs of the Ætolians, sent ambassadors to that Prince, to found his disposition and intentions. The ambassadors, perceiving that he inclined to the Ætolians, and was disposed to enter heartily into the war, endeavoured to inspire him with a jealousy of Annibal; and, to that end, shewed a more than common respect to the Carthaginian. Their design succeeded: the king became doubtful of his truth; and his doubts grew stronger every day. At last, when they had one day found an opportunity of explaining their mutual discontent, Annibal, after he had in vain employed many arguments, and protestations of his sincerity, went on to acquaint him; that when his Father was offering sacrifice to Jupiter, just before his departure into Spain, he stood near him at the altar, being then but nine years old: and that, when the libations and other rites were ended, Amilcar, having commanded the rest that were about the altar to retire, called him to him, caressed, and asked him, if he would attend him to the army: to which when he cheerfully consented, and even requested that he might go, with that sort of eagerness which belongs to children; his father led him to the altar, and commanded him to touch the victims, and to swear that he never would be a friend to the Romans. You may therefore, continued he, rest assured, that, when you are forming any designs against the Romans, I shall encourage and assist you with sincerity and zeal: but whenever you incline to terms of treaty or alliance with them, from that time let me advise you, not to seek for the evidence of information, but to mistrust me, and watch me carefully; for I shall still look out for every occasion of working mischief to that people. This discourse, which

which was delivered with that kind of passion which truth inspires, effectually removed all suspicion from the mind of Antiochus.

This, it must be acknowledged, is a manifest instance of Amilcar's hatred of the Romans, and of the projects which he at that time meditated: but the events that followed are a still clearer confirmation of both. For what can more strongly denote the violence as well as certainty of this disposition in Amilcar, than the conduct of his son-in-law Asdrubal, and Annibal his son; whom he had incited by his counsels and example to the most inveterate enmity against the same people that can be well conceived? The first indeed died, before he was able fully to discover his intentions to the world: but the other found the times more favourable to his purpose; and gave abundant proofs of this hereditary hatred in the strongest and most publick manner. From hence we may learn how necessary it is, that those who are intrusted with the administration of government, should make it one of the first objects of their care, to be well acquainted with the secret disposition and designs of any people, with whom they conclude a peace, or make a new alliance; and observe, whether their consent be yielded to the circumstances of the times, or whether it proceed from a perfect and sincere submission: that they may be always upon their guard against those that are influenced by the first motive, as men that wait only for a more seasonable opportunity of acting; and on the other hand, that they may repose an intire confidence in the others, esteem them their true friends and subjects, and employ them in any service that shall occur.

Such were the causes of the War of Annibal: let us now attend to the beginning of it.

It was not without great reluctance and concern, that the Carthaginians had been forced to abandon Sicily. But the loss of Sardinia afterwards, together with the payment of a
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new and heavier Tribute, added a still sharper sting to their resentment. No sooner therefore had they reduced beneath their power the most considerable part of Spain, than they listened with the utmost eagerness to every matter of complaint against the Romans. When Asdrubal was dead, who had governed the affairs of Spain after Amilcar, they for some time delayed to appoint his successor, till they could know the sentiments of the army. But when the news arrived, that the troops had with one consent made choice of Annibal for their General, they called together an Assembly of the people, and with one voice also confirmed the election. As soon as Annibal was invested with this dignity, he began his march, to subdue the Olcades. And having incamped before Althæa, the strongest of their cities, he pressed the siege with so much vigour, that he soon made himself master of the place. The neighbouring towns were struck with terror, and submitted. Annibal sold them all for money: and having by that means gained great stores of wealth, he returned to take his winter quarters at New Carthage. His treatment of those that were under his command was in every instance great and generous: and by the punctual payment of the military stipends, as well as by the promise also of large rewards for the time to come, he obtained the favour and esteem of all the troops, and filled them with the warmest hopes.

When the summer returned, having led his forces into the territory of the Vaccæans, he made himself master of Elmantica in the first assault. He took also the city of Arbucale by storm: but not till it had first sustained a siege, in which he often was reduced to great extremity. For the place was of large extent: and the inhabitants likewise, who were very numerous, defended themselves with the greatest bravery. After this success, he was surprized at once, when he least expected it, by a danger that seemed likely to prove fatal to

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him. The Carpesians, the strongest and most powerful people of the country, had drawn together all their forces, to intercept him in his return. They were joined by many also of the neighbouring nations; who had been animated to this attempt by the Elmantics and Olcades, that had saved themselves by flight after the destruction of their cities. If the Carthaginians had been forced to engage in set battle against so great a force, their defeat must have been inevitable and complete. But Annibal, like a prudent and experienced General, retreated behind the Tagus; and having the river in his front, resolved to expect the barbarians there, and to dispute their passage. By the help of this advantage, and with the assistance also of his Elephants, which were about forty in number, the success was such as exceeded even his hopes. The enemy came down with the greatest eagerness and haste; and plunged into the river in many parts at once. But no sooner had they gained the other side, than they were met and trodden down in heaps, by the Elephants that were ranged along the bank. Great numbers of them also were destroyed in their passage over, by the Carthaginian Cavalry: who were able more effectually to contend with the violence of the stream; and who fought also with no small advantage against the Foot, that stood below them. Annibal then passed the river, charged the enemy, and gave them an untire defeat; though their numbers amounted to more than a hundred thousand men. After this signal victory, there was not any people left on that side of the Iberus, except only the Saguntines, that was able to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, or to appear against them in the field. But Annibal, remembering carefully the counsels and the plan of conduct, which his Father Amilcar had recommended to him, delayed for some time longer to attack Saguntum: being determined not to give the Romans any plausible pretence
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for declaring war, till he had first secured his other conquests, and settled the country in such a state, as was most proper for his design.

During this time, the Saguntines, in apprehension of what soon afterwards ensued, sent frequent messengers to Rome, to inform the Senate of the rapid progress and success of Annibal. The Romans had long neglected these advices: at last however, they resolved to send some deputies into Spain, to inspect the truth. Annibal, having reduced the several nations, against whom he had at that time turned his arms, was again come back, to take his winter quarters at New Carthage; which was the capital city, and seat of government, of the Carthaginians, in that part of Spain which was subject to their power. He there found the Roman Deputies, and admitted them to an audience. They adjured him by the Gods, not to offer any violence to the Saguntines, the Allies of Rome: and to remain on that side of the Iberus; agreeably to the Treaty made with Asdrubal. Annibal, who was at that time young, and eager in his appetite for war; animated by his late success; and incited also by a long and habitual hatred of the Romans; replied, as if he had been the friend of the Saguntines; and complained to the ambassadors, that the Romans, taking occasion from some disorders that had happened in the place not long before, and which were submitted to their decision, had by an arbitrary sentence condemned some of the Magistrates to die. This injustice called aloud, he said, for his resentment: since the Carthaginians always had considered it as one of the most sacred customs of their country, to redress and avenge the injured. At the same time he sent to Carthage, to know what measures he should take, with respect to the Saguntines; who, through confidence in their alliance with the Romans, had offered violence, as he said, to some of the neighbouring people, that were under the protection of the Republick. It is

easy to remark, that in the whole of this proceeding he was hurried headlong by his passions, and not led by reason. Instead therefore of acknowledging the true motives of his conduct, he was forced to have recourse to absurd pretences ; as it usually happens to men who are prevented by their prejudices from giving a fair attention to what is just and right. How much better would it have been, to have demanded of the Romans, that they should restore Sardinia, and yield back the Tribute, which, without any shew of justice, they had extorted from the Carthaginians in the times of their distress? But now, by being wholly silent concerning that which might have been considered as a reasonable pretence for taking arms, and urging only those false and frivolous motives which respected the Saguntines, he seemed in the opinion of every one to enter into the war, not only in opposition to sound sense and reason, but in express violation also of all the laws of justice.

The ambassadors, perceiving clearly that a war must follow, sailed away immediately to Carthage ; in order to repeat again, before the Senate, the same remonstrances which they had now made to Annibal. But they had no kind of apprehension, that Italy would become the seat of the war ; but expected rather, that all hostilities would be confined to Spain ; and designed to use Saguntum as their Place of arms. Under this persuasion, the Roman Senate, conceiving that the war would be long and difficult, and far removed from their own country, resolved in the first place to quiet those disorders that had now happened in Illyria.

For Demetrius of Pharos, forgetting all the favours which had been heaped upon him by the Romans, and even beginning to think meanly of their power, when he observed the consternation into which the Gauls had lately thrown them, and which was now renewed again by the preparations that were made by Annibal, from this time resolved to place all his hopes in the Royal House of Macedon ; to whose alliance
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and protection he had some kind of claim, because he had joined his forces with Antigonus, in the war against Cleomenes. Fixed in this design, he began to plunder and destroy the Roman cities in Illyria; and sailing with fifty armed frigates beyond Lissus in contempt of treaties, ravaged many of the Cyclade islands. As the House of Macedon was at this time strong and flourishing, the Romans conceived it to be highly necessary, that they should secure against all danger those provinces that were situated to the East of Italy: and were persuaded, that it would then be early enough to oppose the motions of the Carthaginians, when they had first recovered the Illyrians from their folly, and chastised the ingratitude and rashness of Demetrius. But the event proved contrary to their hopes. For Annibal prevented them by his diligence: and having made himself master of Saguntum, he removed the scene of the war into the very heart of Italy, and brought it even to the gates of Rome.

C H A P. II.

IN the beginning of the Spring, in the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, the Romans, pursuing the design that has now been mentioned, sent L. Æmilius with an army into Illyria. At the same time Annibal began his march from New Carthage towards Saguntum. This city is situated at the distance of about seven stadia from the sea; upon the foot of those mountains, which form the frontiers of Iberia and Celtiberia. The country round it is distinguished by its richness and fertility, above all the other parts of Spain. Annibal, having incamped before the place, began to push the siege with the closest vigour. He saw, that from this conquest many advantages would arise, of the greatest moment with respect to the future execution of his designs. For first, as the Romans would then lose all hope of making Spain the
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theatre of the war, so by this success he was sure to strike a general terror into all the country; which would both render those that had submitted to the power of Carthage more tractable and steady in their duty, and make the rest, who were yet unconquered, more cautious of attempting any thing against him. He considered likewise; that there would then no enemy be left behind him, to harass or retard his march: that the treasures of the city would procure, in the greatest plenty, such supplies as were necessary for the war: that the troops, by the taste of plunder, would be animated to a higher degree of ardour and alacrity: and in the last place, that the spoils, which he designed to send to Carthage, would secure to him the favour of his fellow-citizens at home. Urged by the hope of these advantages, he employed his utmost efforts in the siege: making himself an example to the army, and sharing with them in every labour and in every duty: sometimes encouraging the troops by words; and sometimes throwing himself the first into the greatest dangers. At last, when for eight months continuance he had experienced every kind of fatigue and hardship, he took the place by storm; and gained an immense booty, in money, slaves, and valuable goods. He reserved the money, as he had at first proposed, to assist him in the execution of his designs; distributed the slaves among his soldiers, in such proportion as was suited to each man's services; and sent the rest of the spoil to Carthage. The consequence was such as he had foreseen, and fully answered all his expectations. The soldier encountered danger with greater eagerness than before: the Carthaginians readily complied with every thing that was demanded of them: and from the treasure which he had gained, he drew many great advantages in the progress of the war.

As soon as Demetrius was informed of the preparations of the Romans, he placed a strong garrison in Dimalus, and furnished

furnished it with all the necessary stores. In the rest of the cities, he caused all the chief inhabitants that were averse to his interests to be put to death; and placed the government in others, of whose fidelity he was well assured. And having selected, from the bravest of all his subjects, a body of six thousand men, he stationed them, under his own command, in Pharos. When the Roman Consul, arriving in the country, perceived that the Illyrians had reposed their greatest confidence in the strength of Dimalus, and in the stores with which it was supplied, and that they esteemed it to be even impregnable, he resolved, in order to strike the enemy with terror, to make his first attempt upon that city. Having called together therefore all the officers, and exhorted each man severally to be strenuous in his duty, he advanced his works against the place in many parts at once, and pressed the siege with so great vigour, that after six days he took the town by storm. The rest of the cities on every side were filled with consternation, and sent in haste, and submitted to the Romans. The Consul received them all, upon such conditions as he judged convenient; and immediately sailed away, to attack Demetrius in Pharos. But when he heard, that the city was strongly fortified, and defended also by a numerous garrison, who were all chosen troops; and that large supplies had been laid up in it, as well of provisions, as of all the necessary stores of war; he began to apprehend, that a regular siege might engage him in a work of long continuance, and be attended with no small difficulty. He resolved therefore, while the occasion favoured him, to employ the following stratagem. Having landed the greatest part of his troops by night upon the island, with orders to conceal themselves in the woods and other covered places, as soon as day appeared, he came sailing, in open view, with only twenty ships, into the harbour that lay nearest to the city. Demetrius saw their approach, and, despising the smallness of their numbers, led out

out some troops towards the harbour, to oppose their landing. As the fight by degrees grew warm and obstinate, fresh forces still arrived from the city to support the former, till at last the whole garrison was engaged. At this time the Romans, that had landed in the night, having advanced through secret roads, appeared in sight: and seizing a strong eminence, that stood between the city and the harbour, they posted themselves upon it, and cut off the return of the Illyrians to the city. Demetrius, perceiving what had happened, no longer endeavoured to prevent the enemy from landing: but having collected all his troops together, and exhorted them to perform their duty, he marched towards the eminence in order of battle. When the Romans saw, that the Illyrians moved towards them with great alacrity, and in perfect order, they advanced on their part likewise, and charged them with unusual fury. At the same time, the troops also, that had just now landed, fell upon the rear. The Illyrians, being thus attacked on every side, were soon thrown into disorder and confusion, so that a general rout ensued. A small number of them fled towards the city: but the rest escaped through private roads, and concealed themselves in different parts of the island. Demetrius, having retreated to some vessels that had been provided by him against all accidents, and which lay at anchor in a private place, sailed away by night, and by a surprizing kind of fortune arrived, without any accident, at the court of Philip, and there passed the remainder of his life. He was a man of a brave and daring spirit: but his courage was fierce and violent, and never conducted by the rule of reason. The manner therefore of his death was perfectly agreeable to this character, and to his former life. For in endeavouring to take Messene, by the command of Philip, he was hurried on so far by his impetuosity and want of temper, that he perished in the action; as we shall relate more fully in it's proper place.

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The Consul, after this success, entered Pharos without resistance, and razed it to the ground. And having made himself master of the other parts of Illyria, and settled the state of all the Province agreeably to his first design, the summer being now ended, he returned to Rome, entered the city in Triumph, and was received with all the acclamations and applause, that were due to the great skill and courage which he had shewn in the discharge of his commission.

C H A P. III.

WHen the Romans received the news that Saguntum was taken, they by no means made it any part of their deliberations, whether they should enter into a war with Carthage: though some writers affirm the contrary; and have even transmitted to us the speeches that were made, on either side, in the course of the debate. But nothing can be more absurd and groundless than this conceit. For the Romans had in fact declared war a year before against the Carthaginians, in case that any violence should be offered to the Saguntines. How then can they at this time be supposed, when Saguntum actually was taken and destroyed, to have been at all divided in their sentiments, with respect to war or peace? What these historians afterwards relate, is no less destitute of all support from truth or probability. "That the Romans were struck with the greatest consternation: and brought their sons of twelve years old into the Senate, and communicated to them all the publick counsels: and that these children observed the strictest secrecy with regard to what had passed, and concealed it even from their nearest friends." As if this people, besides the other peculiar benefits which they have received from fortune, were possessed also of the privilege of becoming wise from the very moment of their birth. But there is no need to employ many words, to re-

fute these idle stories of Chæreas and Sofilus : stories, suited only to the taste and judgement of the vulgar, among whom they first took their rise ; and which disgrace the name of History.

As soon then as the Romans were informed of the destruction of Saguntum, they admitted no delay, but sent away their embassadors, to propose two things to the Carthaginians: the first of which carried with it a diminution of their honour, as well as some injury to their State ; and the other involved them at once in an affair of the greatest difficulty and danger. For their orders were, to demand that Annibal, and the rest of the chief commanders, should be delivered to the Romans : and, in case that this should be refused, instantly to declare war. When the embassadors arrived at Carthage, they addressed the Senate, agreeably to these instructions. The Carthaginians received the alternative with no small pain : and appointed the ablest member of their body to defend the late transactions. This person, in discharging his commission, passed over in silence the Treaty that was made with Asdrubal ; as if no such treaty had been ever made: or if there had, that it by no means could be thought to bind the Senate, because it never had received their approbation or consent. Upon this head, he appealed to the example of the Romans themselves ; and reminded them, that in the time of the Sicilian war, a Treaty, which Lutatius had concluded with the Carthaginians, was afterwards declared by the Roman People to be void, as having been made without their knowledge and authority. But that which was chiefly urged, was the Treaty that was fully settled between the two Republicks, at the end of the war in Sicily : in which, no mention was made of Spain. It was indeed declared, that no injury should be offered to the Allies of either people: but the Carthaginians shewed, that the Saguntines were not at that time in alliance with the Romans. On this point therefore they rested their whole defence ;

fence; and recurred again and again to the words of the Treaty. But the Romans altogether refused to enter into this debate. They said, that if Saguntum had still remained intire, such discussions might perhaps have been admitted, and the contest cleared by words. But as that city had been actually stormed and pillaged in contempt of treaties, it was now incumbent on them, either to remove the charge, of having directed, or connived at this injustice, by delivering up to punishment the authors of it; or on the other hand, by refusing to comply with this demand, to avow without reserve, that they were sharers in the guilt, and ready to await the consequences of it.

It may perhaps be useful to those who are at any time engaged in deliberations of a like nature and importance, to take a closer view of the true state and merits of this contest. With this design, and in order to free the reader also from those perplexities, in which the mistakes and prejudices of other historians will be likely to entangle him, we shall here set before his view the several treaties that had ever been concluded between the two Republicks, from the earliest times.

The first was of the age of Lucius Junius Brutus, and Marcus Horatius: who were created the first Consuls, after the expulsion of the Kings; and who consecrated the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This was twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. I have given the sense of it, with all the skill and accuracy of which I am master: for the language, that was used in those times, is so different from that which is now spoken among the Romans, that frequently the best interpreters, even after the closest application, are unable to explain it.

“ Between the Romans and their Allies, and the Carthaginians and their Allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their Allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless compelled by bad

weather or an enemy. And in case that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase any thing, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for Sacrifice: and they shall depart within five days. The merchants, that shall offer any goods to sale in Sardinia or any part of Afric, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the Scribe and Crier: and the Publick Faith shall be a security to the merchant, for whatever he shall sell in the presence of these officers. If any of the Romans land in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, they shall suffer no wrong or violence in any thing. The Carthaginians shall not offer any injury to the Ardeates, Antiates, Laurentines, Circæans, Tarracinians, or any other people of the Latins, that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction. Nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the Latins, that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in it's intire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortrefs in the Latin territory: and if they land there in a hostile manner, they shall depart before night."

This Fair Promontory stands on the north side of Carthage: and their design, as I imagine, in not permitting the Romans to sail forwards to the southward of it, was, that they might conceal from them the knowledge of the country that lay round Byzacium and the Little Syrtis; which, on account of it's uncommon richness and fertility, was called, **THE MARKETS**. But in case that they are forced beyond it by rough weather, or an enemy, they then engage indeed to supply them with whatever may be wanted for refitting their vessels, or for Sacrifice: but allow nothing to be taken, beyond what is barely necessary; and injoin them to depart within five days. But Carthage, and the other parts of Afric that stand on this side of the Fair Promontory, together with Sardinia likewise, and as much of Sicily as belonged

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ed to the Carthaginians, are left open to the Roman merchants: and the Publick Faith is pledged for their security, and equitable treatment.

It is to be observed, that the Carthaginians here speak of Afric and Sardinia, as being intirely subject to their jurisdiction. But with regard to Sicily, the conditions of the Treaty are expressly limited to those parts of the island only, which are said to belong to Carthage. The Romans observe, on their part also, the same manner of expression, in speaking of the Latin territory: and no mention is made of the rest of Italy, which they had not at that time subdued.

There was afterwards another Treaty, in which the Carthaginians included the Tyrians and the Uticeans: and to the Fair Promontory, before mentioned, they now added Mastia and Tarfeium; beyond which, it was not permitted to the Romans to sail in search of plunder, or to build any city. These are the words of the Treaty.

“ Between the Romans and their Allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticeans, and their Allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The Romans shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffick, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarfeium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not belonging to the Roman jurisdiction, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If any of the Carthaginians gain any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports: in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim, and set them free. The same condition shall be observed also by the Romans: and when they land, in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart;

part ; without offering any violence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be represented as a private injury ; but be prosecuted as the publick cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia, or in Afric : nor shall they even visit those countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by a storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily, which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do every thing that is permitted to the citizens of the Republick. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians, at Rome.”

In this second Treaty, as in the former, the Carthaginians assert their intire right to Afric, and Sardinia ; and forbid the entrance of the Romans there, on any pretence. But in speaking of Sicily, they mention only so much of the island, as had submitted to the power of Carthage. The Romans use also the same manner of expression, in that part of the Treaty which regards the country of the Latins : where they stipulate, that the Carthaginians shall offer no injury to the Antiates, Ardeates, Tarracinians, and Circæans. These were the people, who inhabited the maritime towns of Latium.

About the time when Pyrrhus invaded Italy, before the Carthaginians were engaged in the war of Sicily, a third Treaty was concluded ; in which, the conditions of the former two were all confirmed, together with this addition.

“ If the Carthaginians or the Romans enter into any Treaty with King Pyrrhus, this condition shall be inserted : That it shall be allowed to either people to send assistance to the other, if their country be invaded. That to whom soever such assistance shall be sent, the Carthaginians shall be obliged to furnish vessels, both for the passage and return : but the pay of the troops shall be discharged by those, in whose service they

they are employed. The Carthaginians shall assist the Romans by sea, if it be necessary: but the naval forces shall not be compelled to disembark against their own consent."

The first of these Treaties was confirmed by oath, in the following manner. The Carthaginians swore by the Gods of their country: and the Romans by a Stone, agreeably to an ancient custom; and by Mars Enyalius. The ceremony of swearing by a Stone was thus performed. The person, that was appointed to this office, having first solemnly attested the publick Faith for the due observance of the Treaty, took in his hands a Stone, and pronounced the following words. "If I swear truly, may the Gods be propitious to me. But if I think, or act, any thing that is contrary to my Oath, then let the rest enjoy in safety their country, laws, possessions, household-gods, and sepulchres; and let Me alone be cast out from the society, as this Stone is now cast away." At the same time he threw away the Stone.

These Treaties are still preserved on Tables of brass, in the apartment of the Ædiles, in the Capitol. That Philinus never saw them, is not much to be wondered at: since, even in our times, many of the oldest men, both Carthaginians and Romans, who are thought to have made the closest search into the antiquities and history of their several countries, are ignorant that any such Treaties now exist. But it seems a matter of just surprize, that this Historian should venture to assert a fact, which is so clearly falsified and refuted by these genuine Records: nor is it easy to conceive, upon what grounds he has done it. For in the second Book of his work, he affirms; that the Romans were, by an express Convention, excluded from every part of Sicily, as the Carthaginians were from Italy: and that the first descent of the Romans upon the Island was made in violation of their oaths, and in direct breach of what had thus been stipulated. Yet it is certain, that no traces of any such Convention can any where be found.

found. These mistakes were slightly mentioned in our Preliminary Books. But it was necessary, in this place, to enter into a more minute examination of them, because they have hitherto derived great weight from the authority of the writer, and misled many from the truth. If we reflect indeed on the design and purpose of that first expedition into Sicily; that it was to take the Mamertines under their protection; to defend a people, who, in seizing Rhegium and Messana, had been guilty of an act of flagrant perfidy; it must be acknowledged, that it will not altogether be an easy task, to excuse or justify the Romans. But to affirm, that this descent was made in violation of any Treaty, is an instance of the greatest ignorance.

When the War of Sicily was ended, another Treaty was concluded, in the following terms.

“The Carthaginians shall abandon Sicily, with all the Islands that lie between Sicily and Italy. The Allies of both Republicks shall be safe from violence. It shall not be permitted to either people, to exercise any act of power, build any fortress, or levy soldiers, in the territory of the other: nor shall the Allies of the one be received into any alliance with the other. The Carthaginians shall pay immediately one thousand Talents; and two thousand two hundred more, in the course of ten years: and they shall restore the Roman prisoners without ransom.”

At the end of the African War, when the Romans had again declared War against Carthage, some new conditions were added to this Treaty: by which, the Carthaginians consented “to give up Sardinia, and to pay another sum of twelve hundred Talents.”

The last Treaty, or Convention, was that made with Asdrubal in Spain: by which it was stipulated, “that the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus with an army.”

These are the several Treaties, that ever were concluded
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between the Carthaginians and the Romans, to the time of Annibal. It is easy to remark from these, that the first invasion of Sicily by the Romans was by no means made in violation of those engagements, which they had sworn to observe. But on the other hand, when they declared war a second time against the Carthaginians, and forced them to yield up Sardinia, and to pay a heavier Tribute; it must be owned, that they had no cause at all, nor any colour of justice, for such proceeding: but basely took advantage of the distresses, in which the Republick was then involved. For with regard to that which is sometimes urged in their defence; that, in the time of the African War, some Roman merchants were injuriously treated by the Carthaginians; we have seen particularly in the former Book, that the Carthaginians, upon the first complaint, released all those that had been detained in their ports: and that the Romans, in acknowledgment of the favour that had been shewn them by this compliance, immediately sent home, without any ransom, all the Carthaginian prisoners.

Since this then is the true state of things on both sides, it remains that we at last inquire, whether the War must in justice be imputed to the Carthaginians, or the Romans. We have already seen the reasons, which the former urged in vindication of their conduct. Let us now consider those that have been advanced in opposition to them: not indeed by the Romans of that age; who were so greatly enraged at the destruction of Saguntum, that they could not even attend to any reasons; but by those of later times. It is said then, that the Treaty made with Asdrubal was by no means to be disregarded, as the Carthaginians had the boldness to affirm: since it did not rest upon any such reserved condition as was found in the Treaty of Lutatius, which ended with these express terms; "These conditions shall be firm and binding, in case that they be ratified by the Roman People;" but was

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fully and finally concluded by the authority of Asdrubal. And by this Treaty it was stipulated, "that the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus with an army." It is also urged, that by the Treaty, which put an end to the War of Sicily, it was provided, "that no injury should be offered to the Allies of either people:" that this was not to be understood, as the Carthaginians laboured to explain it, concerning those alone, who were at that time in alliance with them: for in that case, something of this kind would have been added; "No new alliance shall be made by either people:" or, "The Allies, which either people may hereafter make, shall not be included in the terms of the present Treaty:" but that, as no such caution was inserted, it was manifest, that the security thus mentioned in the Treaty related not to those alone who were at that time in the alliance of either people, but to all that should afterwards be admitted to it. And in truth, this way of reasoning seems to be perfectly just and solid. For it is not to be conceived, that these two Republicks would have consented to any Treaty, that should deprive them of the power of receiving into their alliance such nations as occasion might present, or of defending them, when received, from every kind of injury. In a word, their whole intention may be thus explained. With respect to the people that were then in alliance with them, it is provided, that they shall be secure from violence: and that those, who had embraced the protection of either State, should not be admitted as Allies of the other. And with regard to the Allies, that might afterwards be received; they seem to have been clearly enough designed in the following caution: "It shall not be permitted to either people, to levy soldiers, or to exercise any act of power in the territories, or the allied provinces, of the other. On both sides, all shall be safe, and free from injury."

Now the people of Saguntum, many years before the time of Annibal, had placed their city under the protection of the Romans.

Romans. Of this there is undoubted evidence, in a fact that was acknowledged even by the Carthaginians themselves. For when their government was disturbed by some intestine tumults, the Saguntines, instead of having recourse to the Carthaginians, who were at that time settled in their neighbourhood, and had obtained great power in Spain, referred all their contests to the sole decision of the Romans, and with the help of their authority restored order to their State.

On the whole then, it may fairly be concluded, that if the destruction of Saguntum was the cause of the War, it was unjustly entered into by the Carthaginians: that it was contrary to the Treaty of Lutatius; which provided, that no injury should be offered to the Allies of either people: and a manifest violation also of the Convention made with Asdrubal; in which it was stipulated, that the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus with an army. But on the other hand, if the Carthaginians engaged in the war, because they had been forced to yield up Sardinia, and pay a second Tribute; if they only seized the first favourable occasion, of avenging all the insults and the losses, which their enemies, taking advantage also of the times, had brought upon them; it must then be owned, that their conduct may well be vindicated, upon the principles of reason and of justice.

Among the undiscerning part of my readers, many perhaps will think, that I am too minute and tedious in these inquiries. It is true indeed, that a distinct and close survey of past events, though it might yield some entertainment to the curious, would however be of little use, if mankind were able of themselves, without the assistance of example, to repel effectually every stroke of fortune, and obviate the evils that are incident to life. But such is human nature, that this can by no means be affirmed, either of publick societies, or of single men: since the most fair and flourishing condition is so subject to decay and change, that we can build no

lasting expectations on it. And it is on this account, that the knowledge of past transactions ought to be esteemed not a mere amusement only, but rather an instructive and a necessary study. For unless we have made due reflection upon the conduct of men in former times, how shall we learn the arts of gaining allies and friends, when any danger threatens our country, or ourselves? If we meditate any conquest, or form any project of importance, how shall we be able, without this knowledge, to make choice of proper instruments for the execution of our designs? Or, in case that we are satisfied with our present state and fortunes, how shall we support ourselves by such lasting strength and credit, as may at all times guard our interests from every thing that would undermine and shake them? For those among whom we live, like actors on a stage, appear before us under such a dress, as best may suit with the present times, and with the characters which they assume. To these their words and actions are all accommodated: so that it is hardly possible to penetrate into their real sentiments, or draw out the truth to light, from the darkness under which it is industriously concealed. But in the accounts of former ages, the facts themselves disclose to us the real views, and genuine disposition of the actors. And from hence we are enabled to discern, in various circumstances, from whom we reasonably may expect good offices, favour, assistance, or the contrary: and to know with perfect certainty, what kind of persons may be induced to compassionate our distresses, defend our cause with zeal, and join us in avenging any injuries, to which we may have been exposed. A knowledge surely of the greatest use and benefit, both in the administration of publick affairs, and in the conduct also of private life. But in order to gain this end, it will be necessary, that both the author and the reader, instead of being satisfied with a bare relation of events, should carefully consider all that passed both before and after,

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as well as at the time of each transaction. For if we take from History, the motives to which every action owed it's birth; the manner in which it was carried into execution; the end that was proposed; and whether the event was answerable or not to the first design; what remains, may afford perhaps some transient amusement to the mind, but is not capable of yielding any sound instruction, or lasting service.

If any one should think, that few persons will be inclined either to buy, or read, this History, on account of the number and the bulk of the Books which it contains; let him consider, that it is much less difficult, both to purchase and to read through forty Books, which give a close and uninterrupted relation of the affairs of Italy, Sicily, and Afric, from the time of Pyrrhus, at which the History of Timæus is concluded, to the destruction of Carthage; and of all the great events that happened in the other parts of the world, from the flight of Cleomenes the Spartan, to the battle between the Achæans and the Romans near the Isthmus; than either to procure, or read, all the separate and particular histories of these transactions. For besides that they exceed in bulk the size of this Work, it is certain also, that no real knowledge or improvement can be expected from them. For they not only differ from each other in their accounts of facts; but in general take no notice of many great events, that were coincident with those which they relate; and from which, if all of them were ranged together, and comprehended under one single view, the mind would be enabled to form a far more perfect judgement of the truth, than it can ever gain from a distinct and separate survey of each. We may also add, that by the very nature of their works these writers are debarred from those inquiries, which are of the first and chief importance. For the most useful part of history, as we have already mentioned, is the knowledge of what passed before and after every great event; and especially of the causes that produced

produced it. Thus for instance, the War of Philip gave occasion to that of Antiochus; that of Annibal, to the War with Philip; and the War of Sicily, to that of Annibal: and between these wars, a great variety of incidents intervened, which, though different perhaps in their first aim and purpose, were at last all inclined together towards the same single end. Now this may all be fully understood from General History; but by no means from the accounts of single wars; as that of Perseus, for instance, or of Philip. It might with equal reason be supposed, that the bare description of particular battles, as they are found in these historians, would be sufficient to convey a perfect knowledge of the disposition and intire œconomy of a whole war. But as this can never be expected from them, it is manifest, that a Work like mine must be judged in all points to excel particular Histories, as much as solid instruction is to be preferred to an empty tale. We now return from this digression.

C H A P. IV.

WHEN the Carthaginians had ended their discourse, the Romans made no reply to the arguments which they had urged in their defence. But the oldest of the ambassadors, shewing his bosom to the Senate, told them, that in it were contained both Peace and War; and they might choose whichever of the two best pleased them. The King of the Carthaginians answered, that he might draw out that which was most agreeable to himself. And when the ambassador replied, that it should be War; the Senate with almost one voice cried out, that they accepted it: after which, the Assembly separated.

Annibal was at this time in winter quarters at New Carthage. He first sent home the Spaniards to their several cities: in the hope, that by this indulgence he should fix them
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in his interests, and oblige them to his service for the time to come. He afterwards gave instructions to his brother Asdrubal, for governing the country in his absence, and defending it against the Romans. His last care was, in what manner he might most effectually provide for the quiet and security of Afric. For this purpose, he put in practice a very sensible and wise expedient: making a body of African troops pass over into Spain, and another body of Spaniards into Afric; and thus connecting both those countries in the bonds of a reciprocal fidelity. The troops of Spain that were sent into Afric, were the Therisitæ, Mastians, some Spaniards of the mountains, and the Olcades. Their numbers amounted in the whole to twelve hundred Horse, and thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fifty Foot. To these were added also eight hundred and seventy Baleares: a people, whose name, as well as that of the island which they inhabit, is derived from their custom of using a Sling in battle. These troops were all distributed through the parts of Afric called Metagonia; a small number only excepted, who were sent to Carthage. Four thousand Metagonitans were stationed also in that city: as well to serve as hostages, as to assist in the defence of the place.

With Asdrubal in Spain he left fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, and five Triremes. Thirty-two of the Quinqueremes, and the five Triremes, were completely equipped. To these he added likewise a body of forces, both Horse and Foot. The Cavalry consisted of four hundred and fifty Libyphœnicians and Africans; three hundred Lorgitæ; and a mixed body of eighteen hundred, composed of Numidians, Massylians, Macians, Massæsylians, and Maurusians, whose country lay towards the Ocean. The Infantry was composed of eleven thousand, eight hundred, and fifty Africans; three hundred Ligurians; and five hundred Balcares; together with twenty-one Elephants. If I have given here a more precise and accurate detail of all that was now transacted

transacted by Annibal in Spain, than could perhaps have been expected even from one who himself had born some part in the conduct of those affairs, I must desire the reader not to think it strange; nor to rank me among those writers, who cover their own fictions under such a dress, as may seem most nearly to resemble the form of truth. For I found at Lacinium a Table of brass, on which all these circumstances were engraved, by the orders of Annibal himself, when he was in Italy. And as this seemed to be a monument of the first authority, I have closely copied it in my relation.

Annibal, having thus provided in the fullest manner for the security both of Spain and Afric, now waited only for the arrival of those messengers, that were expected to return to him from the Gauls. For he had endeavoured to inform himself, with all the exactness that was possible, of the fertility of the country that lay beneath the Alps, and along the Po: of the numbers, and courage of the people: and above all, whether they still retained any resentment against the Romans, from their former wars; of which we have already given some account, that the reader might more fully comprehend the things which we are now going to relate. His chief expectations of success in his intended enterprize were built indeed upon the assistance which he hoped to find among the Gauls. For it seemed scarcely possible, to maintain the war in Italy against the Romans, unless these nations could be engaged to join him with their forces, after he had first surmounted the difficulties of the country that lay between. He sent therefore, with the greatest care, to all the Chiefs that lived among the Alps, and to those likewise, who possessed the country on this side of them; and endeavoured by every kind of promise to tempt their hopes, and draw them to his party. At last, when his messengers were returned, and had informed him, that the Gauls were perfectly disposed to favour his design, and even expected his approach with eagerness;

eagerness; and that the passage across the Alps, though likely to be attended with great pains and difficulty, was such however, as in the end might be surmounted; as the Spring advanced, he drew out all his forces from their winter quarters. The news also, which he had just before received from Carthage, had greatly raised his hopes, and given him full assurance of the approbation of his fellow-citizens. He now therefore openly declared his intentions to the army, and exhorted them to make war against the Romans. He informed them of the manner in which this people had demanded, that himself, together with the other Chiefs, should be delivered into their hands. He described the richness of the country, through which they were to pass: and acquainted them with the favourable disposition of the Gauls, and the promise which they had made to join him with their forces. When the multitude cried out, that they would cheerfully attend him, he applauded their alacrity, fixed the day for their departure, and dismissed the assembly.

These things then being all thus regulated during the time of winter, and the necessary measures taken for the security both of Spain and Afric, on the day appointed Annibal began his march, with ninety thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. He passed the Iberus, and with incredible rapidity, though not without many obstinate battles, and a great loss of men, reduced all the nations that inhabited between that river and the Pyrenæan mountains: the Ilurgetes, Bargusians, Ærenosians, and Andosinians. He gave to Hanno the care of the conquered countries: with a power to exercise an intire and absolute sovereignty over the Bargusians, because these especially were suspected of favouring the interests of the Romans. He left also with him a detachment from his army, of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse: together with all the baggage of the troops, that were designed to attend him into Italy. He sent back likewise an equal number of

the Spanish forces to their several cities: being desirous not only to secure to himself, by this indulgence, the favour of the people that were now dismissed; but to encourage also, by the hope of returning again to their native country, both the troops that were engaged to follow him in the present expedition, and those likewise that were left behind in Spain, in case that he should want their service in any future exigency.

The army, thus disincumbered of the heavy baggage, and consisting in the whole of fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, continued their march forwards, by the way of the Pyrenæan mountains, in order to pass the Rhone: being not so considerable in their numbers, as from the goodness of the troops. For they were all tried soldiers: men, well disciplined, and inured to action, by the continual engagements which they had sustained in Spain.

But in order to clear this part of our history from all obscurity, it will be necessary to trace out distinctly the country from whence Annibal began his march, the places through which he passed, and the way by which he first entered Italy. Nor will it be sufficient, barely to insert the names of rivers and of cities, as some historians have done; imagining, that the recital of their names alone must at once convey a full conception of the places. With regard to those places indeed, with which we have been before acquainted, the mention of their names, as it recalls them to the memory, may perhaps be sufficient for the end that is proposed. But with respect to those, of which we have no previous knowledge, it must be allowed, that no greater advantage can arise from the bare recital of their names, than from the repetition of any other sounds that are void of sense and meaning, which only strike the ear, but make no impression on the understanding. For unless the mind has something to which it can apply and fix itself; something already conceived
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and understood, to which that which is heard may be referred; it must of necessity be lost in doubt and ignorance. Since therefore we are to speak of things unknown, we shall endeavour to lead the reader to a right apprehension of them, by connecting them with those that are already known and familiar to him.

The first and most general notion then, in which all mankind agree, and which even the vulgar apprehend, is that by which we conceive the heavens round us to be divided into the four quarters, of East, West, North, and South. The next step is, to consider the several parts of the earth, as lying beneath the one or other of these divisions: and thus we are able to refer, even the places which we have never seen or known, to some settled and determinate conception. This being done with regard to the whole earth, it remains that we observe the same method of division, in speaking of that portion of it which we know to be inhabited. Now this consists of three separate parts; the first of which is called Asia, the second Afric, and the last Europe: and these are bounded by the Tanais, the Nile, and the Straits of the Pillars of Hercules. Between the Tanais and the Nile, lies Asia: and it's situation with respect to the heavens, is beneath that space, which is contained between the North-east and the South. Afric lies between the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules: under that part of the heavens, which extends from the South to the South-west; and from thence, forwards to the West, which coincides with the Pillars of Hercules. So that these two countries, taken together in a general view, possess all the space from East to West, on the southern side of the Mediterranean sea. Opposite to these, on the north side of the same sea, lies Europe; being extended also, without any interruption, from East to West. The greatest and the most considerable part of it is that which falls beneath the North, and possesses all the space between the river Tanais and

Narbo: which last place is situated towards the West; at a small distance only from Massilia, and those mouths by which the Rhone discharges itself into the Sardinian sea. The Gauls are the people who possess the country from Narbo to the Pyrenæan mountains; which extend in one continued chain from the Mediterranean sea to the Ocean. The rest of Europe, from these mountains westward to the Pillars of Hercules, is bounded partly by the Mediterranean, and partly by the Ocean, or exterior Sea. The country which lies along the former, as far as to the Pillars of Hercules, is called Spain. But that which is washed by the exterior, or great Sea, having been but lately discovered, has not yet obtained any settled name. It is possessed by a race of barbarous people, who are very numerous; and of whom we shall take occasion to speak more particularly in another place. But as it has never yet been known with any certainty, whether Æthiopia, which is the place where Asia and Afric meet together, be a Continent extending forwards to the South, or whether it be surrounded by the sea; so those parts of Europe likewise, that lie between Narbo and the Tanais towards the North, have hitherto been quite concealed from our discoveries. In some future time, perhaps our pains may lead us to a knowledge of those countries. But all that has hitherto been written or reported of them, must be considered as mere fable and invention, and not the fruit of any real search, or genuine information.

This, I think, will be sufficient to give the reader some conception even of those places to which he is a stranger: as he may now be able always to refer them to the one or other of these general divisions, marked out and ascertained by the position of the heavens; and may turn his mind towards them, as often as they are named in the course of this Work, in the same manner as the eye directs it's view to any object that is pointed out to it's observance. We now resume our narration.

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The Carthaginians were at this time possessed of all that part of Afric, which lies along the Mediterranean sea, from the Philænean Altars, which are opposite to the greater Syrtis, to the Pillars of Hercules. This coast, in it's full extent, includes a space of more than sixteen thousand stadia. They had also passed the Straits, and subdued all Spain as far as to those rocks, which, on the side towards the Mediterranean sea, form the extreme point of the Pyrenæan mountains; the boundary that divides Spain from Gaul. These rocks are distant from the Pillars of Hercules, about eight thousand stadia.

The distance from the same Pillars to New Carthage, from whence Annibal began his march towards Italy, is three thousand stadia: from that City to the Iberus, two thousand six hundred: from thence to Emporium, sixteen hundred: and the same number afterwards to the passage of the Rhone. For the whole of this route has been accurately measured by the Romans; and distinguished by distances, each of eight stadia. From the passage of the Rhone, if we take our course up the river, to the beginning of the Alps, we may count the distance to be fourteen hundred stadia: and the road across those mountains, till we arrive in the Plains that are watered by the Po, twelve hundred more. Thus the route, which Annibal now designed to take, from New Carthage into Italy, contained in it's whole length about nine thousand stadia.

He had already surmounted almost one half of this long march: but the most dangerous and difficult part was yet to come. He was now preparing to lead his army through the passes of the Pyrenæan mountains, not without some apprehension, that the Gauls might take advantage of the strength of those defiles, and fall upon him in his march; when the Romans were informed by their ambassadors, of all that had been debated and determined in the Senate of Carthage, and
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at the same time heard with great surprize, that Annibal was already advanced beyond the Iberus. They resolved therefore, that an army should immediately be raised and sent to Spain, under the command of Publius Cornelius; and another, with Tiberius Sempronius, into Afric. And while the Consuls were employed in perfecting the levies, and making all the necessary preparations, they used their utmost diligence to complete the settlement of those Colonies, which they had some time before resolved to send into Gaul. They made haste to inclose the towns with walls: and ordered the citizens that were to inhabit them, of whom six thousand were allotted to each colony, to be all present on the place within thirty days. The one of these new cities was built on this side of the Po, and called Placentia: the other, on the other side; and was named Cremona.

But scarcely were the inhabitants arrived, when the Boian Gauls, who had long watched in secret for some favourable occasion to shake off their alliance with the Romans, being now encouraged by the near approach of the Carthaginian army, resolved openly to revolt; shewing no regard to the safety of their countrymen, whom they had given as hostages, at the conclusion of their last war against the Romans, which we described in the former Book. And having prevailed with the Insubrians likewise, whose old resentment against the Romans was not yet extinguished, to assist them with their forces, they wasted all the lands that were allotted to these new colonies; pursued the Romans, who fled before them, as far as Mutina, another of their colonies, and invested them closely in the place. There were among them three Romans of distinguished rank; who had been sent to inspect the distribution of the lands. One of them, Caius Lutatius, was of Consular, and the other two, of Prætorian dignity. These desired to have an interview with the enemy; to which the Boians readily consented. But as they were returning
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from the conference, the Gauls treacherously seized and kept them prisoners; imagining, that through their means they should recover their own Hostages from the Romans. The Prætor L. Manlius, who was posted with some troops upon the frontiers of the country, no sooner was informed of what had happened, than he advanced in haste towards the enemy. But the Boians, having placed their army in ambuscade in a certain forest, through which the Romans were to pass, as soon as they appeared, fell suddenly upon them from every quarter, and killed many of them. The rest fled at first with great precipitation. But having gained the neighbouring hills, they rallied again their broken forces, and retreated with some kind of order, but in a manner that was scarcely honourable. The Gauls followed close behind; and blocked up these troops likewise in a village that was called Tanes, into which they had retired. As soon as it was known at Rome, that their army was thus closely invested by the enemy, and the siege pressed with vigour; they sent away immediately to their relief, under the conduct of a Prætor, the legions that had been raised for Publius: and gave orders, that the Consul should make new levies, among the Allies. Such then in general, as we have described it both here and in the former parts of this Work, was the state and condition of the Gauls, from their first settlement in the country, to the time of Annibal's arrival in it.

The Roman Consuls, having severally completed all the necessary preparations, sailed out to sea in the beginning of the Spring: Publius, with sixty vessels, to go into Spain; and Tiberius, with a fleet of a hundred and sixty Quinqueremes, to prosecute the war in Afric. The zeal and eagerness that appeared in the conduct of the last of these, and the preparations which he made at Lilybæum, drawing together troops and stores of every kind and from every quarter, were all so great and formidable, that it seemed as if he meditated nothing

thing less, than to lay siege to Carthage itself upon his first arrival. Publius, steering his course along the Ligurian coast, arrived on the fifth day in the neighbourhood of Massilia. And having anchored in the first mouth of the Rhone, which was called the Massilian mouth, he landed his forces there. He had heard, that Annibal had already passed the Pyrenæan mountains; but was persuaded, that he must still be at a considerable distance from him: as the country through which he was to march was extremely difficult, and the Gauls around him very numerous. But Annibal, having with wonderful success gained some of the Gauls with presents, and reduced the rest by force, continued his route forwards, keeping the Sea of Sardinia on his right, and was now arrived upon the banks of the Rhone. When the news came, that the enemy was so near, Publius, being in part surprized at this celerity, which seemed indeed to exceed all belief, and partly desirous also to be informed exactly of the truth, sent away three hundred of the bravest of his Horse to make discoveries, together with a body of Gallic mercenaries that belonged to the Massilians; who were to serve as guides, and to support the Cavalry also, if there should be occasion for it: while himself, in the mean time, employed his care, to recover the troops from the fatigue which they had suffered in the voyage; and consulted with the Tribunes, concerning the posts that were most proper to be taken, and the place in which they might with best advantage meet and offer battle to the enemy.

Annibal, having now fixed his camp upon the Rhone, at the distance of about four days journey from the sea, resolved to make his passage in that place; because the stream was narrow there, and confined within the proper channel of the river. By his gentle treatment of those that lived along the banks, he prevailed upon them to sell to him all their canoes and boats, the number of which was very great: for almost
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all the people that dwell near the Rhone, are employed in constant commerce upon the sea. They supplied him also with the wood that was proper for making the canoes: and in two days time, an incredible quantity of those vessels was finished by the army. For the soldiers all attended to their task with the greatest earnestness: as if each man had resolved to be indebted to no labour but his own, for his passage across the river. But about this time, a very great army of Barbarians appeared on the other side, ready to oppose the Carthaginians in their landing. Annibal, having seen their numbers, and considered with himself, that as it was by no means possible to pass the river in defiance of so great a force, so on the other hand, in case that he should long remain in his present post, he must soon be inclosed on every side by enemies, as soon as the third night came on, sent away a part of his army under the care of Hanno, the son of King Bomilcar, with some of the natives of the country to serve as guides. These troops, when they had marched about two hundred stadia up the stream, at last rested in a place, where a small island divided the river into two. And having cut down trees from a neighbouring forest, some of which they joined, and bound some together with cords in a hasty manner, in a short time they completed a number of floats sufficient for the present necessity, and passed the river upon them without any resistance from the enemy. And having seized a strong and advantageous post, they remained upon it during that whole day: reposing themselves after the fatigue of their march; and making all things ready for the ensuing combat, agreeably to the orders which they had received. The rest of the troops, that were left with Annibal, were in like manner employed in taking such refreshment as was necessary, and completing all their preparations. But the point of greatest difficulty was, to contrive a method for the safe passage of the

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Elephants, which were thirty-seven in number : and this indeed occasioned no small embarrassment and pain.

On the fifth night after the arrival of the Carthaginians upon the Rhone, the detachment, that had already passed it, began their march before break of day, and advanced along the banks of the river towards the enemy. At the same time Annibal, having all his troops in readiness, disposed every thing for their immediate passage. The larger boats were filled with the heavy-armed Horse : and the Infantry embarked in the canoes. The first were stationed higher up the stream ; while the latter took their place below them : that when the strength and violence of the current had first been broken by the heavier vessels, the passage of the rest might be more secure and easy. The horses were made to swim across ; being towed along behind the larger boats. And as three or four were in this manner conducted together by a single soldier, who was placed for that purpose upon either side of the stern of every vessel, a considerable number of them were landed on the other side, in the very first passage over.

The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the disposition that was made, ran down from their camp in crouds, without observing any order ; and were persuaded, that they should be able, with the greatest ease, to prevent the Carthaginians from landing. But Annibal, having now discerned the smoke on the other side, which the detachment from his army had been directed to make, as the signal of their near approach, ordered all the troops to get immediately on board ; and that those, who were in the larger vessels, should direct their course against the stream, in such a manner as might most effectually break it's violence. His orders were executed in an instant. The troops, as they embarked, pursued their work with loud and eager emulation : animating each other by their cries, and struggling with all their strength, to surmount the
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the violence of the stream : while the view of both the armies, with which the banks on either side were covered ; the cries of the Carthaginians from the shore, calling after their companions, and seeming as it were to divide their labour with them ; the noise of the barbarians on the other side, who demanded the combat with loud screams and shouts ; formed all together a scene of great astonishment and horror. At this time, the troops that were led by Hanno appeared suddenly on the other side. And while one part of them set fire to the camp of the enemy, which was left without defence, the rest and greater part made haste to fall upon the rear of those that were defending the passage of the river. The barbarians were struck with terror, at an event so strange and unexpected. Some ran in haste towards the camp, to stop the progress of the flames : while others were constrained to turn, and defend themselves against the enemy. When Annibal perceived, that all things had conspired most favourably with his designs, as fast as the forces landed, he drew them up in order, and led them to the charge. The barbarians, who had begun the combat in disorder, and whose consternation was now completed by the sudden attack that was made upon them from behind, were in a short time routed, and forced to fly. The Carthaginian General, being thus in the same instant master of his passage, and victorious against the enemy, gave immediate orders for passing the rest of the army over. And having in a short time brought all the troops to land, he incamped that night along the border of the river.

On the following day, Annibal, having received the news that the Roman fleet had cast anchor near the mouth of the Rhone, sent away a body of five hundred Numidian Horse, to take a view of the situation of the enemy, and to discover their numbers, and designs. He gave directions also for the passage of the Elephants across the river. And having afterwards called together the troops, he introduced among them

Magilus, a petty King, who had come to him from the country that was near the Po; and who now, with the help of an interpreter, informed the assembly of all the resolutions, which the Gauls had taken in their favour. This expedient was such indeed, as could scarcely fail to raise the spirits of the army, and inspire them with confidence and courage. For in the first place, as the bare sight alone and presence of the Gauls, exhorting them to proceed in their designs, and promising that they would bear an equal part in all the fortune of the war, was itself a circumstance of great force and moment; so the assurance likewise, that was now repeated by this people, that they would lead the army into Italy, by a way that was both short and safe, and through places that would yield a full supply to all their wants, seemed highly probable, and such as well deserved their credit. They spoke with great advantage also of the extent and richness of the country, into which they were going to enter; and of the zeal and prompt alacrity of the people, upon whose assistance they designed chiefly to rely, for maintaining the war against the Romans.

The Gauls, after this discourse, retired: and Annibal himself came into the assembly. He began with reminding the soldiers of their past exploits. He desired them to remember, that though they had often been engaged in designs of the greatest difficulty as well as danger, they had never yet failed in any enterprize, because they had been always careful to repose a perfect confidence in the wisdom of their General, and paid an intire submission to his will. He exhorted them, to be still assured of the same success: and to be persuaded, that they had already accomplished the most important part of their intended labour; since they had happily passed the Rhone, and seen with their own eyes the friendly disposition of their allies towards them, and their zeal for the war. With regard therefore to the particular measures that were now to be pursued, he conjured them to throw away all concern; and
to

to rest securely upon his care and conduct, for the intire management of the whole. That they should be ready only to receive and execute his orders; to acquit themselves at all times like men of courage; and maintain the glory of their former actions. The multitude testified their applause by shouts; and shewed the greatest ardour and alacrity. Annibal praised their zeal: and having recommended them all to the favour and protection of the Gods, and directed them to make all things ready for their march on the following day, he dismissed the assembly.

About this time, the Numidian Horse, that had been sent to make discoveries, returned to the camp. A great part of the detachment had been killed; and the rest were forced to fly. For no sooner had they gained a moderate distance from the camp, than they were met by the detachment of the Roman Cavalry, which Publius had sent away upon the same design. The engagement that ensued between them was so sharp and obstinate, that a hundred and forty Gauls and Romans fell on one side, and more than two hundred Numidians on the other. The Romans, in pursuit of those that fled, advanced even close to the intrenchments of the Carthaginians: and having taken an exact and thorough view of all the camp, they returned again in haste, and informed the Consul of the arrival of the enemy. Publius, having first sent the baggage to the ships, immediately decamped, and advanced with all the army along the banks of the river, with design to overtake the Carthaginians, and to force them to a battle without delay.

But early in the morning of the following day, Annibal, having posted his Cavalry as a reserve on the side towards the sea, commanded the Infantry to begin their march: while himself waited to receive the Elephants, and the men that were left with them on the other side of the river. The passage of the Elephants was performed in the following manner.

When

When they had made a sufficient number of Floats, they joined two together, and fastened them strongly to the ground, upon the bank of the river. The breadth of both together was about fifty feet. To the extremity of these, they fixed two more, which were extended over into the water: and to prevent the whole from being loosened and carried down the river by the rapidity of the current, they secured the side, that was turned against the stream, by strong cables fastened to the trees along the bank. Having in this manner finished a kind of bridge, which was extended to the length of about two hundred feet, they then added to it two other Floats of a much larger size; which were very firmly joined together; but were fastened in so slight a manner to the rest, that they might at any time be separated from them with little difficulty. A great number of ropes were fixed to these last Floats: by the help of which, the boats, that were designed to tow them over, might hold them firm against the violence of the stream, and carry them in safety with the Elephants to the other side. They then spread a quantity of earth over all the Floats: that their colour and appearance might, as nearly as was possible, resemble the ground on shore. The Elephants were usually very tractable upon land, and easy to be governed by their conductors: but were at all times under the greatest apprehensions, whenever they approached the water. Upon this occasion therefore, they took two female Elephants, and led them first along the Floats. The rest readily followed. But no sooner were they arrived upon the farthest Floats, than, the ropes being cut which bound them to the rest, they were immediately towed away by the boats towards the other side. The Elephants were seized with extreme dread; and moved from side to side, in great fury and disorder. But when they saw that they were every way surrounded by the water, their very fears at last constrained them to remain quiet in their place. In this manner, two other Floats being
from

from time to time prepared and fitted to the rest, the greater part of the Elephants were carried safely over. There were some indeed, that were so much disordered by their fears, that they threw themselves into the river in the midst of their passage. This accident was fatal to their conductors, who perished in the stream. But the beasts themselves, exerting all their strength, and raising their large trunks above the surface of the river, were by that means enabled not only to breath freely, but to discharge the waters also, as fast as they received them: and having by long struggling surmounted likewise the rapidity of the stream, they at last all gained the opposite bank in safety.

As soon as this work was finished, Annibal, making his rear guard of the Elephants and Cavalry, continued his march along the river; directing his route from the sea towards the East, as if he had designed to pass into the middle parts of Europe.

The Rhone has it's sources above the Adriatic Gulph, in those parts of the Alps that stand towards the north, and at first flows westward. But afterwards, it bends it's stream towards the South-west; and discharges itself into the Sardinian sea. This river runs chiefly through a valley, the northern side of which is inhabited by the Ardyen Gauls; the southern parts being all bounded by the Alps, which look towards the North. The Plains around the Po, which we have already described at large, are separated also from this valley by the Alps; which, beginning near Massilia, are from thence extended even to the inmost extremity of the Adriatic Gulph. And these were the mountains, which Annibal was to pass; as he came forwards from the Rhone, to enter Italy.

There are some historians, who, in the description which they have given us of these mountains, and of the march of Annibal across them, while their design is to strike the reader with a view of something wonderful and strange, are unwarily betrayed

betrayed into two faults, the most contrary of any to the true character of History. For they relate such things as are manifestly false: and on many occasions also, are forced even to refute their own accounts. They speak of Annibal, as a General, whose prudence and whose courage were such as never could be equalled: and yet at the same time they plainly prove him to have been of all men the most irrational and senseless. As often too as they find it difficult to bring the fables which they have feigned to any probable conclusion, they introduce the Gods and Demigods into a history, whose proper business is to treat of real facts. Thus they represent the Alps to be in every part so steep and broken, that not only the Cavalry, the heavy Infantry, and Elephants, but even the light-armed Foot, must in vain have attempted to surmount them. They describe them likewise to have been intirely destitute of all inhabitants: so that unless some God or Hero had appeared, and pointed out the road to Annibal, he might still have wandered, ignorant of his way, till the whole army had been lost.

Now this account of things is both inconsistent with itself, and false. For must not Annibal have been esteemed the most imprudent and most rash of all commanders, if he had set out upon his march, at the head of so great an army, upon which he had also built the noblest expectations, without being first informed of the direction of his route, and the places through which he was to pass; in a word, without knowing, into what kind of country he was going to enter, and what people he was likely to encounter in the way? And must it not be thought a still more high degree of folly, to have engaged thus blindly in an attempt, which was so far from yielding any reasonable prospect of success, that on the contrary, it was not even in it's nature practicable? Yet these writers, while they lead him through a country, of which he had received no previous knowledge, ascribe to him such a conduct, at a time when his army was intire, and his hopes all fair and flourishing,

flourishing, as no other General would ever have pursued, even in the most weak and desperate state. With regard also to that which they relate, concerning the desert condition, and insuperable roughness of the Alps; it must appear at once to be a most direct and notorious falsehood. For the Gauls, that lived along the Rhone, had often passed these mountains. And even not long before the time of Annibal, they had led a very numerous army over them, to join the Cisalpine Gauls in their wars against the Romans; as we shewed particularly in the former Book. The Alps themselves are inhabited also by a numerous people. But these historians, through the want of being acquainted with all these circumstances, are obliged to feign the appearance of some Demigod, to direct the Carthaginians in their march: following in this the example of the Tragic Writers. For as these are forced to introduce a Deity in the catastrophe of their pieces, because their fables are founded neither on truth nor sense; so these historians likewise, when they have filled their first relations with circumstances that are both improbable and false, must of necessity have recourse to the Gods and Demigods, to clear the difficulties in which they have involved their story. For if the beginning be contrary to truth and nature, the end also must be the same. But notwithstanding all which these writers may pretend, it is certain that Annibal, in the conduct of this enterprize, had taken all his measures with the best judgement and precaution. For he had informed himself with great exactness of the nature of the country, through which he was to pass: he was well assured of the goodness of it; and of the inveterate hatred, which the people bore against the Romans. And that he might be able also to surmount the difficulties of the way, he chose for guides the natives of the country; men, engaged with him in the same designs, and actuated by the same common hopes. With regard to myself, I may be allowed to speak of these things with some confidence. For I

not only received my accounts from persons that lived in the times of which I am writing; but have also passed the Alps, for the sake of gaining a more full and accurate knowledge of the truth.

C H A P. V.

ON the third day after the Carthaginians had begun their march, the Roman Consul Publius arrived at the place where they had passed the river. When he found that the enemy was gone, his surprize was very great; and not indeed without good reason. For he had persuaded himself, that they would by no means venture to pass that way into Italy, amidst so many barbarous nations, noted for their fraud and perfidy. But as he saw however, that they had made the attempt, he returned in haste to his ships, and ordered all the forces immediately to embark. And having sent away his brother into Spain, he steered his course back again to Italy: designing to march with the greatest diligence through Tyrrhenia; and so to reach the Alps, before the Carthaginians should be able to have passed those mountains. The latter, continuing their route forwards, arrived, after four days march from the passage of the Rhone, at a place that was very fertile in corn, and possessed by a numerous people. It was called, the Island: because the Rhone and Isara, running on both sides of it, fall together below, and sharpen the land into a point. This place, both in it's size and figure, resembles that part of Ægypt which is called the Delta: with this difference only, that one of the sides of the latter is washed by the sea, which receives the rivers that inclose the other two, whereas the third side of the Island is defended by a chain of very rough and lofty mountains, which indeed are almost inaccessible. It happened, that at this time there were two Brothers in arms against each other, contending for the

the sovereignty of the place. The eldest of them immediately had recourse to the Carthaginians; and implored their aid, to secure to him the possession of his rights. Annibal embraced the occasion with no small joy; being well aware of the advantages that would result from it to himself. Having joined his forces therefore with this Prince, he defeated and drove out the younger Brother, and was well rewarded by the conqueror, for the assistance which he had given him. For he not only supplied the troops with corn and other necessities, in large abundance; but exchanged likewise all their arms, that were impaired and worn by use, for others that were sound and new. He furnished a great part of the soldiers also with new habits, and especially with shoes; which were of singular service to them, in their march afterwards across the mountains. But the chief advantage was, that he attended, with all his forces, upon the rear of the Carthaginian army, through the whole country of the Allobroges, which they could not otherwise have passed without great fear and caution; and secured their march from insult, till they arrived at the foot of the Alps.

When the army, after they had marched ten days along the Rhone, and had reached the distance of about eight hundred stadia from the place where they passed the river, were just now preparing to ascend the Alps, they found themselves in a situation that seemed likely to prove fatal to them. The Chiefs of the Allobroges had suffered them to pass the plains, without any interruption or disturbance: being restrained in part by their apprehensions of the Carthaginian Cavalry, and partly also by the dread of those barbarians that followed in the rear. But when the latter had returned back again to their country, and Annibal with the foremost of his troops was now beginning to enter the difficult passes of the mountains, they drew together their forces in great numbers, and possessed themselves of all the posts that commanded the defiles

through which the Carthaginians were obliged to pass. If this design had been conducted with due secrecy and caution, the whole army must have been destroyed without resource. But as they employed no pains to cover their intentions, the attempt, though it brought great loss upon the Carthaginians, proved no less pernicious to themselves.

For when Annibal perceived, that the enemy had thus seized on all the advantageous posts, he incamped at the foot of the mountains, and sent away some of the Gauls that served as guides in his army, to discover their disposition, conduct, and designs. When these returned, they acquainted him, that, during the time of day, the barbarians remained constant in their stations, and kept a careful guard upon them; but retired, as soon as night came on, to a neighbouring town. The General, having formed his measures upon this intelligence, continued his march in open view, as far as to the entrance of the defiles; and incamped very near the enemy. And when night came on, he ordered fires to be lighted, and the greater part of the army to remain in the camp: while himself, having selected some of the bravest of the troops, and disincumbered them of every thing that might retard their march, advanced through the passes, and seized the posts which the enemy had now deserted. When day appeared, and the barbarians saw what had happened, they were forced to desist from their first design. But having afterwards observed, that the Cavalry, and the beasts that conveyed the baggage, being crowded and pressed close together by the narrowness of the way, advanced very slowly forwards, and not without the greatest difficulty, they seized the occasion that appeared so favourable, and fell upon them as they marched, in many parts at once. The destruction that ensued was very great; especially of the horses, and beasts of burthen. But the loss of these was rather owing to the badness of the ground on which they stood, than to any efforts

efforts of the enemy. For as the way was not only very rough and narrow, but was bounded also on every side by steep and craggy rocks, the beasts, that were loaded with the baggage, were overturned by every shock, and hurried headlong with their burthens down the precipices. This disorder was occasioned chiefly by the Horses that were wounded. For these, being rendered senseless and ungovernable, not only fell against the beasts of burthen that were near them, but forcing their way also through the ranks as they were labouring to advance, filled every thing with tumult, and bore down all that was within their reach.

But Annibal, perceiving this disorder, and reflecting with himself, that the loss of the baggage alone must prove fatal to his army, though all the troops should escape with safety, advanced now in haste to their assistance, with the forces that had gained the hills in the night before: and rushing down with violence upon the enemy from those eminencies, he killed great numbers of them; but not without an equal loss. For the cries and conflict of these new combatants greatly increased the former tumult of the march. At last however, the greater part of the Allobroges were slain, and the rest forced to fly. Annibal then conducted through the passes, though not without the greatest pains and difficulty, what remained of the Cavalry and beasts of burthen. And having afterwards assembled as many of the troops as he was able to draw together after the disorder of the late action, he advanced against the town, from whence the enemy had made their attack upon him. As the place was in a manner quite deserted by the people, who had all gone out in search of booty, he became master of it upon his first approach; and from thence drew many great advantages, with respect both to the present, and to future use. For besides the horses, beasts of burthen, and prisoners which he gained; he found likewise in it so large a quantity both of corn and cattle, that it proved sufficient to support

port the army during two or three days march. By this conquest also, the people that lived along the sides of the mountains were struck with terror, and feared to engage in any new attempt against him.

Annibal, having rested in this place during one whole day, again decamped, and continued his march to some distance forwards, without any accident. But on the fourth day, he fell a second time into a danger, from which it was not easy to escape. The inhabitants of those parts of the mountains, having formed the design of surprizing him by treachery, advanced to meet him, with green branches in their hands, and crowns upon their heads: which is the signal of Peace among the barbarous nations, as the Caduceus is among the Greeks. Annibal, being unwilling to trust too hastily to these appearances, questioned them with great exactness, concerning their intentions, and the purpose of their coming. They answered, that having been informed that he had taken a neighbouring Town, and destroyed all those that had appeared in arms against him, they were come to assure him, that they had no intention to do him any injury, and to request, that he would offer none to them. They promised also, that they would leave some hostages in his hands, as a pledge of their sincerity. Annibal still was doubtful and irresolute, and apprehended some ill design. But when he had reflected with himself, that his compliance with the terms, which this people now proposed, might serve perhaps to render them more mild and cautious; and on the other hand, that, in case he should reject them, they would not fail to act against him as open enemies; he at last resolved to embrace their offers, and, in appearance at least, to consider them as friends. The barbarians brought their hostages; supplied the army liberally with cattle; and gave themselves up to the Carthaginians with so little reserve or caution, that Annibal was in a great degree induced to throw away all suspicion; and even intrusted them
with

with the charge of leading the army through the rest of the defiles. But when the Carthaginians, after two days march under the conduct of these guides, were now engaged in passing through a valley, that was surrounded on every side by steep and insuperable precipices, suddenly this treacherous people appeared behind them in great numbers, and fell with fury upon the rear. In this situation, the whole army must inevitably have been destroyed, if Annibal, who still retained some little doubt of their sincerity, had not placed, by a wise precaution, the baggage with the Cavalry at the head of all the march, and the heavy Infantry behind. These troops sustained the attack, and in part repelled the impending ruin. The loss however was very great, both of men, and horses, and beasts of burthen. For the barbarians, advancing still along the summit of the mountains, as the Carthaginians continued their march through the valley, both by slinging stones, and rolling down fragments of the rocks upon them, spread so great terror and disorder through the army, that Annibal was forced to take his station for the night upon a naked and desert rock, to secure the Cavalry and baggage, till they had all passed the valley. And this was at last accomplished. But such was the roughness and the difficulty of these defiles, that the whole night was scarcely sufficient for the work.

On the following day, the enemy being now retired, the Carthaginian General joined the Cavalry, and continued his march towards the summit of the Alps. From this time, the barbarians never came to attack him in any very numerous body. But some stragling parties of them, appearing from time to time in different places, and falling, as occasion served, sometimes upon the foremost troops, and sometimes on the rear, gave frequent interruption to his march, and carried away a part of the baggage. The Elephants were chiefly serviceable upon these occasions. For on which side soever they advanced, the enemy were struck with terror at the sight,
and

and never ventured to approach. On the ninth day, having gained at last the summit of the mountains, he there fixed his camp, and rested during two whole days: that he might give some ease and refreshment to the troops, that had performed their march with safety; and that the others might also join him, who were not yet arrived. During this time, many of the wounded horses, and of the beasts that had thrown their burthens in the late disorders of the march, having followed the traces of the army, arrived safely in the camp.

It was now near the time of winter. The mountains were already covered deep with snow; and the whole army seemed to be under the greatest dejection and dismay: being not only exhausted by the miseries which they had suffered, but disheartened also by the view of those that were yet to come. Annibal therefore had recourse to the only expedient that remained, to raise their drooping courage. He assembled the troops together; and from the summit of the Alps, which, when considered with regard to Italy, appear to stand as the Citadel of all the country, pointed to their view the plains beneath that were watered by the Po; and reminded them of the favourable disposition of the Gauls towards them. He shewed them also the very ground, upon which Rome itself was situated. By this prospect, they were in some degree recovered from their fears. On the morrow therefore they decamped, and began to descend the mountains. There was now no enemy that opposed their passage; except some lurking parties only, which sometimes fell upon them by surprize, for the sake of plunder. But by reason of the snows, and the badness of the ground, their loss was not much inferior to that which they had suffered in the ascent. For the way was not only very steep and narrow, but so intirely covered also by the snow, that the feet knew not where to tread with safety. And as often as they turned aside from the proper track, they were instantly hurried down some precipice. Yet the
soldiers

soldiers, to whom such accidents were now become familiar, sustained all this misery with an amazing firmness. At last they came to a place, which neither the Elephants, nor the beasts of burthen, could in any manner pass. For the ground, which was before extremely steep and broken, to the length of a stadium and half, had again very lately fallen away, and left the road so narrow, that it was quite impracticable. At this sight, the troops again were seized with consternation; and even began to lose all the hopes of safety. Annibal at first endeavoured to avoid this route, by changing the direction of his march, and making a circuit round it. But he soon was forced to desist from that design. For the way on every side was utterly insuperable; through an accident of a singular kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The snows of the former year, having remained unmelted upon the mountains, were now covered over by those that had fallen in the present winter. The latter, being soft, and of no great depth, gave an easy admission to the feet. But when these were trodden through, and the soldiers began to touch the snows that lay beneath, which were now become so firm that they would yield to no impression, their feet both fell at once from under them, as if they had been walking upon the edge of some high and slippery precipice. And this mischance drew after it a still worse accident. For when they struggled with their hands and knees to recover themselves from their fall, as the ground was every where extremely steep, they were then sure to slide away with greater violence and rapidity than before; carrying likewise with them whatever they had grasped for their support. The beasts also that were loaded with the baggage, having by their endeavours to rise again when they had fallen, broken the surface of the lower snow, remained closely wedged in the pits which they had made; and by the weight of the burthens under which they lay, as well as from

the unyielding firmness of the snows around them, were fixed immoveably in the place.

When this attempt was thus found to be impracticable, Annibal returned again to the narrow road which he had quitted; and having removed the snow, he incamped at the entrance of it, and ordered the soldiers to make a firm and level way along the precipice itself. And this, with the expence of vast pains and labour, was at last effected: so that in one day's time, there was sufficient room for the horses and the beasts of burthen to descend. These were immediately conducted down; and having gained the plains, were sent away to pasture, in places where no snow had fallen. The Numidians were then commanded to enlarge the road, that the Elephants might also pass. But so laborious was the task, that though fresh men still succeeded to those that were fatigued, it was not without great difficulty that they completed it, in three days continued toil: after which, these beasts came down the mountains; being almost exhausted and spent with famine. For the tops of the Alps, which are covered through all seasons with perpetual snows, produce neither tree nor pasture: though the middle parts on both sides of them abound with woods and forests, and are proper to be cultivated. Annibal then descended last, with all the army; and thus on the third day gained the plains: having lost great numbers of his soldiers in the march; as well in passing rivers, as in the engagements which he was forced to sustain. Many of his men had also perished, among the precipices of the Alps: and a far greater number of the horses, and beasts of burthen. And having thus at last completed his journey from New Carthage, in five months time; fifteen days of which were employed in passing over the Alps; he now boldly entered the territory of the Insubrians, and the plains that are watered by the Po: though the whole of his Infantry,
that

that was left, amounted to no more than twelve thousand Africans, and eight thousand Spaniards ; and his Cavalry, to six thousand only : as we learn from an account, that was engraven by his orders, on a Column near Lacinium.

About the same time, the Roman Consul Publius, having sent away his brother, as we before related, with the greater part of the army, into Spain, exhorting him to prosecute the war with vigour against Asdrubal in that country, landed at Pisæ, with a small body of forces only. But having taken his route through Tyrrhenia, and increased his army with the legions that were then in action, under the conduct of the Prætors, upon the frontiers of the Boian Gauls, he came and incamped also near the Po ; with design to press the enemy, and force them to an engagement without delay.

Thus then have we brought these Generals together ; and fixed the scene of the war in Italy. But before we go on to recount the battles that ensued, it may be proper just to speak of certain matters, which may be thought perhaps to deserve a place in this part of our History. For as we have often taken occasion, in the course of this Work, to give a full description of various places that occurred, both in Spain and Afric, many will be ready to inquire, from whence it happens, that we have made no mention of the Straits that are formed by the pillars of Hercules, and of the Sea beyond ; together with the properties and accidents that are peculiar to them : of the British islands ; with the manner of making tin : and of the gold and silver mines that are found in Spain : especially since other writers, who have treated of these subjects in a very copious manner, differ greatly from each other, in all that they report.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that these things are by no means foreign to the design of History. But I considered with myself, that a separate discussion of every one, as they occurred, would too much break the course of the narration,

and divert the reader from those transactions which are the proper Subject of this work : and in the next place, that it would be far more useful likewise, to take a view of all of them together, in some time and place reserved expressly for that purpose ; in which we might be able to explain at large whatever has been known with truth concerning them. Let no one therefore think it strange, if, whenever any other subjects of the same kind present themselves in the progress of our History, we should forbear to enter into a particular examination of them. To expect that an historian should crowd his work in every part with these descriptions, is indeed a proof of a very vitious and uninformed judgement. Such readers may very properly be compared with those men of liquorish palates, who taste eagerly of every dish that is set before them ; and, amidst so great a variety of meats, not only lose the present relish of what they eat, but make their whole food pernicious to the body, which it was designed to strengthen and sustain. In the same manner also, these mixed histories, as they afford no pure or genuine entertainment in the reading, so neither are they able to convey any sound and lasting nourishment to the mind.

With regard to the reasons, that induced me to reserve the full consideration of all these subjects for a professed and separate Inquiry, there are many that might now be mentioned. But the chief and most considerable of them is, that by much the greater part of those historians, who have ever treated of the situation and the properties of the extreme parts of the habitable world, have fallen into numberless mistakes, in almost all which they relate. It will be necessary therefore to refute and rectify their accounts, not by some slight and cursory remarks, but in a full and deliberate examination of them. We must be careful however to remember, that their labours deserve upon the whole rather praise than censure ; and that their errors are always to be corrected in the gentlest manner :

manner: since it is certain, that they would themselves retract and alter many passages in their works, if they were now alive. For in former times, there were but few among the Greeks, that made any attempt to extend their search into those places which we call the boundary of the earth. The difficulties in their way were indeed almost insuperable. Many dangers were to be encountered by sea; and more, and greater upon land. And when any, either by choice or accident, had gained an entrance into those countries, yet because some parts were destitute of all inhabitants, and others possessed by a race of men, whose manners were uncultivated and wholly barbarous, it was scarcely possible, that they should be able to examine with their own proper eyes even into a small part only of the things that deserved their notice. Nor could they, on the other hand, as they were strangers to the language of the natives, ever gain the information that was requisite, in those which they had opportunity of seeing. And even those few, that were able in some degree to surmount these difficulties, were all disposed to enlarge their descriptions far beyond the bounds of probability: and having neither sense nor candour to be satisfied with the plain and simple truth, invented strange and incredible fictions of prodigies and monsters; reporting many things, which they had never seen; and many also, that had no existence. Since therefore all these circumstances concurred to render it not only difficult, but utterly impossible to gain any accurate and certain knowledge of those countries, we ought by no means to pass too severe a censure upon the old historians, for their mistakes or omissions in these matters: but on the contrary, should rather be persuaded, that they deserve our acknowledgments and thanks; on account even of the little information which they have left behind them; and that, amidst those numerous difficulties, they were able as it were to lay the foundation of more genuine discoveries. But in these times, since all Asia
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has been opened to us by the arms of Alexander, and the other parts of the world by the Roman victories, so that every place and every country is now become accessible either by sea or land; and since men of eminence in the world have shewn great eagerness and zeal in making these researches; employing in them all that leisure which they now enjoy from the business of war and the care of publick affairs; it may with reason be expected, that, by the help of these advantages, we should at last be able to remove the obscurity, in which these inquiries have hitherto been involved. And this is the task, which I shall undertake in it's proper place: and shall endeavour to give those readers, whose taste is gratified by such descriptions, a clear and perfect insight into all these subjects. For I have exposed myself, without reserve, both to great fatigue, and many dangers, in traversing all Afric, Spain, and Gaul; and in voyaging also upon the exterior Sea, by which these parts of the world are bounded; that I might be able to correct with some assurance the mistakes of former writers, and lay open the knowledge of these countries to the Greeks. But we shall now leave this digression: and go on to the recital of the battles that were fought in Italy.

C H A P. VI.

THE Carthaginian General, having now entered Italy with the forces which we have already particularly mentioned, at first incamped at the bottom of the Alps, that he might give some ease and refreshment to his troops. Indeed the present condition of his army was miserable almost beyond expression. For besides the hardships which they had sustained from the difficulties of the way, both in ascending and descending the mountains, the want of such provisions as were necessary, and the diseases also which their bodies had contracted from neglect and nastiness, had changed them into spectacles

spectacles of horror: while the greater part seemed voluntarily to sink beneath their sufferings, and even to reject all thoughts both of life and safety. For in a march so long and difficult, it was utterly impossible to bring with them such supplies, as might fully satisfy the wants of so numerous an army: and even those which they had brought were almost all lost among the precipices, with the beasts that carried them. This army therefore, which, when it passed the Rhone, consisted of thirty-eight thousand Foot and eight thousand Horse, was now reduced to less than half that number. The rest had perished among the mountains. And those that were left alive, were so much worn and altered by continued sufferings, that their appearance was scarcely human.

The first care therefore, to which Annibal now gave his whole attention, was to raise the drooping spirits of the troops, and by proper refreshment to restore both the men and horses to their former state. When this was done, he invited the Taurinians, who lived near the foot of the Alps, and were at this time engaged in war with the Insubrians, to enter into an alliance with him, and to assist him with their forces. And when his offers were rejected by them, he marched and incamped before the strongest of their cities; and having taken it after three days siege, killed all that were found in arms against him in the place. By this severity, the neighbouring barbarians were all struck with terror, and submitted at discretion. The rest of the Gauls, that inhabited these plains, were impatient to take arms in favour of the Carthaginians, as they had at first designed. But because the legions, that were sent from Rome, had passed through many of their States, and had avoided all the ambuscades that were prepared to intercept them, they were forced to remain quiet for the present; and some were even compelled to join the Romans. Annibal therefore, wisely judging that no time was to be lost, resolved

resolved to continue his march forwards without delay ; and, by some action of importance, to fix the confidence of those that were disposed to embrace his party, and encourage them to act without restraint, for the advancement of their common hopes.

But while he was preparing all things for the execution of this design, the report arrived, that Publius with his army had already passed the Po, and was now at no great distance from him. At first, Annibal could scarcely give credit to the news. Not many days were past, since he had left the Romans upon the banks of the Rhone. And as the passage by sea from Massilia to the Tyrrhenian coast was both long and difficult, so the distance also from thence through Italy, to the bottom of the Alps, was very great, and the way by no means easy or commodious for an army. But as the fact received fuller confirmation, he was beyond measure surprized, both at the boldness of the attempt, and at the success likewise, with which the Consul had carried it into execution. Publius, on his part also, was not less astonished. For he had persuaded himself, either that Annibal would never venture to take his route across the Alps, with an army that was all composed of foreign troops ; or if he did, that he must inevitably be lost in the attempt. But when he heard, that he had not only passed the mountains, but was already laying siege to some of the towns of Italy, he was struck with admiration at the daring and undaunted spirit of this General. At Rome also, the surprize was not at all more moderate. For while the report, that Saguntum was taken by the Carthaginians, still sounded in their ears, and all their measures were suited to that event ; when they had sent away the Consuls but just before, the one to make a diversion of the war in Afric, and the other to oppose the progress of the enemy in Spain ; on a sudden they are informed, that Annibal is already arrived in Italy with his army. This wonderful celerity,

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as it almost exceeded all belief, so it filled them also with the greatest apprehensions. They immediately send notice to Tiberius, who still lay at Lilybæum, that the enemy had entered Italy. They direct him to desist from his first design, and return again to defend his country. The Consul, having received these orders, sent back the fleet to Rome; and commanded the Tribunes to draw together all the legionary forces with the greatest diligence; and that, on a day which he prescribed, they should meet him at Ariminum: a town, situated near the Adriatic coast, in the southern extremity of those plains that are watered by the Po. In a word, so contrary were the present accidents to all that had been expected or foreseen, that the consternation soon became general among the people, and held their minds in anxious suspense for the event.

But Annibal and Publius, as they now approached each other, endeavoured severally to animate their troops; by all the motives which the present conjuncture suggested to them. Upon this occasion, Annibal contrived the following expedient. Having assembled together all the forces, he brought before them the young prisoners, whom he had taken among those barbarians that had disturbed his march across the Alps. With a view to the design which he now put in practice, he had before given orders, that these wretches should be treated with the last severity. They were loaded with heavy chains: their bodies were emaciated with hunger; and mangled by blows and stripes. In this condition, he now placed them in the midst of the assembly; and threw before them some suits of Gallic armour, such as their kings are accustomed to wear, when they engage in single combat. He ordered some horses also to be set before them; and military habits, that were very rich and splendid. He then demanded of the young men, which of them were willing to try their fate in arms against each other; on condition that the conqueror should

possess those spoils that were before their eyes, while the vanquished would be released by death from all his miseries. The captives with one voice cried out, and testified the utmost eagerness to engage. Annibal then commanded, that lots should be cast among them: and that those two, upon whom the lot should fall, should take the arms that were before them, and begin the combat. When the prisoners heard these orders, they extended their hands towards the heavens; and every one most fervently implored the Gods, that the lot to fight might be his own. And no sooner was their chance decided, than those, whose fortune it was to engage, appeared filled with joy, while the rest were mournful and dejected. When the combat also was determined, the captives, that were by lot excluded from the trial, pronounced him who had lost his life in the engagement to be in their fight not less happy than the conqueror: since by dying he was released from all that wretchedness, which they were still condemned to suffer. The same reflections arose also in the minds of the Carthaginian soldiers: who, from comparing the condition of the dead with the ill fate of those that were led back again to chains and torture, declared the former to be happy, and gave their pity to the sufferings of the latter.

When Annibal perceived, that this contrivance had produced in the minds of all the army the effect that was intended from it, he came forwards in the assembly, and told the soldiers; " That he had offered that spectacle to their view, that, when they had discerned their own condition in the fate of those unhappy captives, they might more clearly judge, what resolutions were most proper to be taken, and in what manner they might best form their conduct, in the present circumstances. That in the combat which they had seen, and the prize proposed to the conqueror, was displayed a perfect image of that state, into which they were themselves now brought by fortune. That such was their situation, that they must

must either conquer, or be slain in battle, or else fall alive into the power of their enemies. That by conquest, they would obtain a prize, not of horses and military habits, but the whole wealth and riches of the Roman empire; and would thus become the happiest of mankind. That if they were to fall in battle, they could then only die; without being first exposed to any kind of misery; and contending, to their latest breath, for the most glorious of all victories. But on the other hand, in case that they were conquered, and the love of life should flatter them with any hopes of being able to escape by flight; or should they even consent upon any terms to live after their defeat; it was manifest beyond all doubt, that nothing but the extremity of wretchedness could await them. For surely there were none among them, who, when they had considered how vast a length of country they had traversed, what enemies had opposed them in the way, and what large and rapid rivers they were forced to pass, could be so wholly destitute of all sense and judgement, as ever to be persuaded, that it was possible to regain their several countries. He conjured them therefore to throw away all such hopes; and in judging of their own state and fortune, to retain those sentiments, which they had just now shewn with regard to the condition of the Captives. That, as in that case they declared both the man that conquered, and him who fell in the combat, to be happy, and pitied those that were reserved alive; so their business now was, to conquer if it were possible; and if not, to die: and on no account to entertain even the smallest expectation or thought of life, in case that they were conquered. That if they would heartily embrace these sentiments, and carry this resolution with them into action, there was indeed no room to doubt, but that they would both live and conquer. That no troops were ever known to be defeated, who had once been fixed in this determination, either by necessity or choice. But that on the

other hand, an army which, like the Romans, saw their country open to them on every side, and ready to receive all those that could escape by flight, must necessarily fall beneath the efforts, of men whose only hopes were placed in victory." This harangue, together with the spectacle that had passed before their eyes, fully inflamed the courage of the soldiers, and raised them into such a temper as Annibal had designed. He therefore applauded their disposition, and dismissed the assembly; with orders, that they should make all things ready for their march, by break of day.

Upon the same day likewise, the Consul Publius, who had already advanced beyond the Po, and designed to continue his march forwards, and to pass the Ticinus, sent away a sufficient number of his troops, to lay a bridge across that river: and having in the mean time called together the rest of the army, he harangued them in the following manner.

In the first part of his discourse, he displayed in many words the dignity and splendour of the Roman empire; and recalled to their minds the glorious actions of their ancestors. Speaking afterwards on the subject of the present war, he told the soldiers, that, even though they had never yet made any trial of the strength of those that were in arms against them, they might however be assured of victory, if they would remember only, that their enemies were the Carthaginians: those very Carthaginians, who had been so often vanquished by the Roman legions, and had submitted to the imposition of repeated tributes: and who now, by an attempt not less absurd than insolent, had dared to appear in arms against a people, to whom they had paid such subjection, as was not far removed from slavery. "But since in fact, continued he, we so lately have experienced, that these enemies want the courage even to stand before us in the field, what must be our sentiments, if we judge with reason, concerning the issue of the war? For when their Cavalry was engaged with ours upon
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the Rhone, they not only lost great numbers of their men, but the rest, that were left alive, fled before us in a manner the most dishonourable, even to their very camp. Their General also, and all his army, no sooner were informed of our approach, than they retired with such precipitation, that their retreat was rather to be called a flight. It was this fear alone, and not their choice or inclination, that hurried them across the Alps. Behold then, added he; Annibal is indeed arrived in Italy, but his army is lost among the mountains. And even the few that have escaped are so much wasted with fatigue, so worn and exhausted by the length and difficulties of their march, that both men and horses are alike disabled; and become unfit for all the services of war. To conquer such an enemy, it must surely be sufficient, to shew yourselves but once before them. But if any thing should still be wanting to fix your confidence, let my presence here among you be considered as a certain pledge of your success. For it never can be thought, that I should thus have left the fleet, with the affairs of Spain that were intrusted to my care, and have run with so much diligence to join the army in this country, unless I had been first assured by the most solid reasons, not only that this measure was both wise and necessary in the present circumstances, but that I was hastening also to reap the fruits of an easy and undoubted victory."

The authority of the speaker, as well as the truth that was contained in this discourse, raised in all the troops an impatience to be led against the enemy. Publius commended their alacrity: and exhorting them to hold themselves in readiness for action upon the earliest warning, he dismissed the assembly.

On the following day, both armies continued to advance along the Ticinus, on that side of it which is nearest to the Alps; the Romans, having the river on their left; and the Carthaginians, upon their right. But on the second day,
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having received notice from their foragers, that they were now at no great distance from each other, they incamped severally in the place where they then were. On the third day, Annibal, having drawn out all his Cavalry, marched through the plain, to view the situation of the enemy. Publius also, with his Cavalry and light-armed troops, was advancing on the same design. As soon as they approached so near as to discern the dust that was raised on either side, they immediately ranged their forces in order of battle. The Consul, having placed his light-armed troops in front, together with the Gallic Horse, drew up the rest in a line behind, and moved slowly towards the enemy. Annibal advanced to meet him, having thrown into his Centre all the bridled and heavy Cavalry, and placed the Numidians on the Wings, that they might be ready to surround the Romans. As the Cavalry on both sides, as well as the Generals themselves, shewed the greatest impatience to engage, the light-armed troops, being apprehensive that, as these bodies met, they should be born down instantly in the shock, had scarcely thrown their first javelins, when they retired with great precipitation, through the intervals of their own squadrons that were behind them. The two bodies then advanced to action. The battle was fierce on both sides, and the success for some time doubtful. For many of the combatants left their horses, and maintained the fight on foot with the greatest obstinacy. But after some time, the Numidian Cavalry, having taken a circuit round, and falling suddenly upon the light-armed forces that had saved themselves in the rear, trampled them down in heaps, and from thence advanced to charge the hindmost of the squadrons that were engaged. The Romans, who had hitherto sustained the fight with such success, that, though they lost many of their men, they had yet destroyed a far greater number of the enemy, being thus attacked by the Numidians in their rear, were thrown at once into disorder, so that a general

ral rout ensued. The greater part fled different ways. But a small number of them, having formed themselves into a body round the person of the Consul, retreated with him.

Publius immediately decamped, and marched in haste through the plains, in order to repass the Po. For as the country round him was all flat and open, and the Carthaginians superior in their Cavalry; and because himself also had received a dangerous wound in the late engagement; he thought it necessary to remove the troops without delay into a place of safety on the other side of the river. Annibal for some time stood in expectation, that the Romans would draw out their Infantry, and engage in a general battle. But when he found that they had left their camp, he immediately pursued, as far as to the bridge upon the Po. The bridge had been broken by the Romans, and the greater part of the planks removed. But a body of six hundred men, that had been left to secure that post, and who still remained upon the banks of the river, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. Annibal, being informed by these, that the Romans had already gained a great distance from him, immediately gave a stop to the pursuit; and, directing his march up the stream, advanced along the river, in search of a part that might commodiously admit a bridge to be thrown across it. After two days march, having found a place that was proper for this design, he made a bridge of boats, and ordered Asdrubal to conduct the army over the river: while himself, who first had passed it, gave audience to the ambassadors, that now came to meet him from all the neighbouring country. For the Gauls on every side no sooner had received the news of the late victory, than they immediately threw away all restraint; and pursuing their first design, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and supplied their army both with men and stores. Annibal received all that came to join him with great marks of favour: and when the
army

army had all passed the river, he advanced in haste along the banks, but by a way that was contrary to his former course; for he now directed his march down the stream, with design to overtake and engage the enemy without delay.

For Publius, after he had repassed the Po, went and incamped near Placentia, a colony of the Romans. And being persuaded, that he had now placed the troops in safety from all insult, he lay quiet in his post; and attended carefully to the cure both of himself, and of those that were wounded with him in the late engagement. After two days march from the place where they had passed the Po, the Carthaginians arrived near the enemy: and on the third day, they advanced in order, and offered battle to the Romans. But as the Consul remained still close in his intrenchments, they again retired, and incamped at the distance of about fifty stadia from him.

At this time, the Gauls that had joined the Roman army, being persuaded that the Carthaginians had now the fairest prospect of success, resolved to attack the Romans by surprise: and having secretly concerted their design, they waited in their tents for the time to carry it into execution. Supper was now ended in the camp, and the army all retired to their repose; when these men, having suffered the first part of the night to pass without any disturbance or commotion, at break of day took arms, being in number about two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse; and falling suddenly upon the legions that were nearest, killed and wounded great numbers of them: and having cut off the heads of those that were slain, they carried them to the Carthaginian camp. On their arrival there, they were received by Annibal with great acknowledgments. He applauded their zeal and courage; and having promised them also such rewards as were due to this important service, he dismissed them to their several cities, to inform

inform their countrymen of all that had been transacted, and to invite them to join their forces with the Carthaginians. He knew indeed that, after this flagrant act of perfidy against the Romans, they must of necessity be forced to embrace his party. They came accordingly in a short time afterwards; and brought also with them the Boian Gauls; who delivered to him the three Romans that had been sent to inspect the division of the lands, whom they had treacherously seized in the beginning of the war, as we have before related. Annibal received them all in the most favourable manner; concluded an alliance with them; and made them his associates in the war. But he returned the prisoners again into their hands; advising them to keep them carefully, as the means whereby they might recover their own hostages from the Romans, as they had at first designed.

The Consul Publius was thrown by this transaction into no small anxiety and concern. And not doubting but that all the neighbouring Gauls, who before were very ill disposed towards the Romans, would immediately join the enemy, he thought it most prudent to retire, and avoid the danger that must arise from so general a revolt. With this design, about three hours after midnight he decamped, and marched towards the river Trebia, and the mountains that were near it: being persuaded, that the troops might there lie secure against all attacks; as the posts were very strong and advantageous, and the country also on every side possessed by their allies. As soon as Annibal was informed of this retreat, he immediately sent after them the Numidian Horse, and afterwards the other Cavalry; and himself in a short time followed with the rest of the army. The Numidians, having entered the intrenchments, and finding them quite deserted, staid to set fire to the camp. This delay was highly advantageous to the Romans. For if these troops had followed the pursuit with diligence, as the march of the enemy lay through a flat and open country,

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great numbers of them must have been destroyed. But now, they had almost all safely passed the Trebia, before the Cavalry were come up. A small part only of the rear, that still remained upon the banks, were either killed, or taken prisoners by the Carthaginians.

The Consul, when he had passed the river, posted his troops upon the nearest hills. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp, he resolved to wait for the arrival of Tiberius with the other army; and in the mean time, carefully to attend to the cure of his wound, that he might be able to bear a part in the engagement, whenever it should happen. Annibal also fixed his camp at the distance of about forty stadia from the Romans: while the Gauls who inhabited the neighbouring plains, being now bound firmly to his interests, and animated by the past success, supplied his troops with all the necessary stores in the greatest plenty, and shewed the utmost eagerness to share in all the labours, and in all the dangers of the war.

C H A P. VII.

WHEN the people were informed at Rome of the action that had happened between the Cavalry, they were at first surprized at an event, that was so contrary to all their expectations. They found however many reasons, which served to flatter them in the opinion, that this accident was by no means to be considered as an actual defeat. For some ascribed the blame to the rash precipitation of the Consul. Others imputed the whole mischance to the wilful cowardice and ill conduct of the Gauls: being led to this persuasion, by the treachery which that people had just now committed in the camp. And even though the worst should be admitted, yet since their Infantry remained intire, it seemed reasonable that their hopes also should be still the same, with regard to

to the issue of the whole. When Tiberius therefore, with his legions, passed through Rome, they made no doubt, but that the fight alone of so brave an army must at once strike the enemy with terror, and give a speedy determination to the war.

When the troops were all met together at Ariminum on the appointed day, agreeably to the oath which they had taken, the Consul immediately pursued his march in haste, with design to join his Collegue. Having fixed his camp near him, he gave orders for the refreshment of the army, which had suffered no small fatigue in their journey of forty days continuance from Lilybæum to Ariminum, and made all the necessary preparations for a battle; and in the mean time, held frequent conferences with Publius; as well to inform himself of all that had already been transacted, as to deliberate also with him concerning the measures that were now to be pursued.

About this time Annibal became master of Clastidium, which was surrendered to him by the treachery of the Governour, a native of Brundisium, who had been placed there by the Romans: and having gotten into his hands the garrison, and all the stores, he distributed the latter among his troops for their present use, and joined the prisoners to his army without offering them any injury. By this instance of his clemency, he hoped that all the neighbouring people might be induced to lay aside their fears; since they would now perceive, that they had no cause to despair of safety, in case that they should hereafter fall into the hands of the Carthaginians. He rewarded the traitor also with ample presents; that the governours of other cities might be led to embrace his party. Not long afterwards, having received information, that some of the Gauls that lived between the river Trebia and the Po, who had before concluded an alliance with him, had now entered also into terms of treaty with the Romans, he sent away

two thousand Foot, and a thousand Numidian and Gallic Horse, to plunder and lay waste their country. These orders soon were executed: and the detachment was now returning with their booty, when the Gauls came running to the Roman camp, and implored assistance. Tiberius, who for some time had been impatient to be in action, seized the occasion, and immediately sent away the greatest part of his Cavalry, together with a thousand light-armed Foot. These troops, having passed the river, charged the Numidians and the Gauls that were loaded with the plunder, and forced them to retreat in haste to their intrenchments. But when the guards, that were posted before the Carthaginian camp, advanced to the assistance of those that fled, the Romans were in their turn routed, and constrained to return back towards their camp. Tiberius then commanded all the Cavalry to advance, together with the light-armed troops; and the enemy was again forced to fly. Annibal, who was at this time wholly unprepared for a general engagement, and who knew it to be the part of a wise and prudent General, not to hazard a decisive action without mature deliberation and design, forced the troops to stand, as they fled towards the camp, and to turn their faces to the enemy; but at the same time ordered the trumpets to sound the signal of retreat, and forbade the soldiers either to pursue, or renew the combat. The Romans, when they had for some time waited in the field, returned back again to their camp; having lost but a very inconsiderable part of their forces in the action, though they had destroyed great numbers of the enemy.

Tiberius, being beyond measure elated by this success, was impatient to try the fortune of a general engagement. But though he had already resolved to embrace the advantage, which the slow recovery of Publius gave him, and to govern all things by his own single authority and will; yet being desirous also to gain, if it were possible, the approbation of his
Colleague,

Colleague, he communicated his intention to him. But Publius was fixed in different sentiments. For he had considered with himself, that when the troops had first been trained and exercised during the time of winter, they would be able to perform much greater service in the following season, than any that could now be expected from them. He was persuaded likewise, that the natural levity and perfidious disposition of the Gauls would soon lead them to revolt from their new allies, in case that the Carthaginians should be forced to remain long inactive. And in the last place, he was willing also to believe, that when his own recovery should be completed, he might himself be able to perform some service in the conduct of a general action. He pressed his Colleague therefore with the greatest earnestness, that things might still continue in their present state. Tiberius clearly understood the wisdom of these sentiments. But being hurried headlong by ambition, confident of victory, and heated also with the vain and flattering expectation of being able to finish the war alone, before Publius should be in a condition to assist him, or the new Consuls, the time of whose election now drew near, arrive from Rome, to take upon them the command, he resolved, in opposition to all sense and prudence, to risk a general battle. And as he thus made choice of his own time for action, instead of that which the condition of affairs required, his conduct in all that followed was of consequence absurd, and such as could not fail to disappoint him in the end that was proposed.

Annibal on the other hand, having formed the same reflections in his mind, as Publius had made, with regard to all the present circumstances, was led to just the opposite determination, and resolved to engage the enemy without delay. He saw the advantages that would arise, from employing the Gauls in action, before their first ardour was abated. He judged it also to be a point of no small importance in his
favour,

favour, that the Roman troops were all new-raised levies, not yet inured to war; and that Publius was disabled by his wound from appearing in the field. But his chief and strongest reason was, that he might not suffer any moment of his time to be wasted in inaction. For when a General has once brought his army into a foreign country, and engaged them in designs that are beyond measure great and difficult, he must very shortly meet his ruin, unless he is able from time to time to renew the confidence and hopes of his allies, by a continual succession of exploits. Not doubting therefore, but that the eager and impatient spirit of Tiberius would soon afford the opportunity that was desired, he now began to make the necessary preparations for a battle.

He had before this time carefully observed the ground that lay between the camps. It was a smooth and naked plain: but the banks of the river that ran through it, which were of considerable height, and covered also with close shrubs and bushes, suggested to him the design of placing an ambuscade to surprize the enemy. This stratagem was such indeed, as might well be carried into execution, without any fear of a discovery. For though the Romans always were prepared to expect this kind of fraud in woods and covered places, because the Gauls were accustomed to hide themselves in these, they had never any apprehension of it in a flat and open country. And yet in fact it is both more safe and easy, to place an ambuscade in a plain, than in a wood. For as the troops are able to discern from their concealment every thing around them to a greater distance; so there are always to be found some little eminencies, that will cover them effectually from the observation of the enemy. Any inconsiderable river, whose banks rise only to a moderate height, and sometimes even flags and rushes, or any kind of bushes, will serve to hide not only a body of Foot, but even Cavalry. The only caution to be observed is, to place their arms, whose
brightness

brightness might betray them, upon the ground, and their helmets under them.

Annibal then, when he had first communicated his intentions to his brother Mago and the rest of the officers in Council, who all applauded the design, ordered Mago to attend him at the hour of supper, and gave to him the command of a hundred Foot, and as many Horse; directing him to choose them, while it was yet day, from the bravest of the troops, and to bring them, after supper, to his tent. Mago was at this time young; but full of martial ardour; and had been trained in war from his very infancy. When he appeared with his men before the General's tent, Annibal, having first exhorted them to be strenuous in their duty, commanded each man to select, from his own proper Company, nine of the bravest soldiers; and that afterwards they should attend his orders, in a certain part of the camp. Thus the whole number now amounted to one thousand Foot, and as many Horse. As soon as they were all assembled, Annibal, having furnished them with proper guides, and instructed Mago in the time, in which he should appear and charge the enemy, sent them away by night to the place of the ambuscade.

On the morrow, at break of day, he assembled the Numidian Cavalry; who, of all the army, were best able to sustain fatigue and hardship. And having promised great rewards to all that should perform any signal service in the battle, he ordered them to pass the river without delay; to approach the camp of the Romans; and endeavour, by skirmishing, to draw their army into motion. His intention was, to surprize the enemy, when they were wholly unprepared for an engagement; and before they had taken their first repast. He then called together all the Officers; harangued them as the occasion required; and directed them to give orders, that the troops should take their usual meal, and prepare their arms and horses for the combat.

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When Tiberius saw, that the Numidians were advancing towards the camp, he immediately sent against them all his Cavalry; and after these, his light-armed Foot, in number about six thousand men: and at last, drew out the legions likewise from both the camps. Confident in the number of his troops, and elated also by the advantage which his Cavalry had gained the day before, he seemed to be persuaded, that, in order to obtain the victory, it would be sufficient only to appear before the enemy. It was now deep winter: the snow fell fast: the cold was uncommonly severe: and the Romans, both men and horses, had almost all left the camp, before they had taken any repast. The soldiers however began their march with the greatest ardour and alacrity. But when they came to pass the Trebia, whose stream was now so swelled, by the torrents that had descended in the night from the neighbouring hills, that the waters reached even to their breasts, it was not without the greatest pains and difficulty that they gained the other side. As the day also was now far advanced, they began to faint through cold and hunger. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, had taken their usual meal at leisure in their tents; had prepared their horses for the combat; had all rubbed their limbs with oil, and put on their armour, before a fire.

Annibal, who stood waiting till the Romans should have passed the river, no sooner saw that they had gained the other side, than he immediately sent away the Balearic slingers and the light-armed Foot, in number about eight thousand, to support the Numidian Cavalry; and himself then followed with all the army. At the distance of eight stadia from the camp, he ranged in one single line his Infantry; which was composed of Spaniards, Africans, and Gauls, and amounted in the whole to about twenty thousand men. His Cavalry, whose numbers with the Gauls included were above ten thousand, was placed, in two bodies, on the Wings. And the

the Elephants, divided also into equal numbers, were posted, at some distance, before either Wing.

Tiberius, perceiving that his Cavalry could gain no advantage against the Numidian Horse, who, as their custom was, fled in one moment from the charge, and in the next, returned again with the same force and vigour as before, gave the signal for their retreat. His Infantry was composed of sixteen thousand Romans, and twenty thousand of their allies: which is the just amount of that which they esteem a perfect army, in the case of a general engagement, when both Consuls are together in the field. He ranged them after the usual manner of the Romans: and having placed his Cavalry, which were about four thousand, on the Wings, he advanced with a slow and haughty pace towards the enemy.

The armies now approached each other, and the light-armed forces began the combat. But even in this first onset, the Romans manifestly laboured under many disadvantages; while every circumstance was favourable to the enemy. For the troops of the former that were now engaged, not only were exhausted by the cold and hunger which they had suffered ever since the morning, but had discharged the greatest part of their weapons also in their combat against the Numidian Horse. And even those javelins, that were left, were now, from the continual rain that had fallen upon them, become unfit for any service. The Cavalry also, and indeed all the army, were alike feeble and disheartened: while the Carthaginians, on the contrary, fresh and vigorous, and prepared for action, flew briskly to the charge, and maintained the fight in every part with courage and success.

As soon therefore as the light-armed troops had retired on either side through the intervals of their respective armies, and the heavy forces advanced to action, the Carthaginian Cavalry, which was far superior to the Roman both in numbers and in strength, advancing together from the Wings;

pressed the enemy with so much violence, that they forced them instantly to retreat before them. When the Infantry was thus uncovered, the Numidians and the light-armed forces of the Carthaginians, returning back again from the rear, and passing beyond the front of their own army, fell suddenly upon both flanks of the Romans, and spread among them so great tumult and disorder, that they were no longer able to defend themselves against those that were attacking them in front. In the Centre of the armies, the foremost ranks, on either side, remained for a long time firm; and maintained the fight with equal courage and success. But when Mago and his troops, now rising from their ambuscade, fell furiously upon the rear of those legions that were fighting in the Centre, then were the Romans every way distressed, and the disorder such as could receive no remedy. Their two Wings, pressed by the Elephants in front, and charged in flank by the light-armed Foot, were in a short time turned to flight, pursued, and pushed together in crouds into the river. In their Centre also, the hindmost of the legions, unable to sustain the fury of those troops that rose against them from the ambuscade, were in like manner broken and destroyed. The foremost ranks alone, urged by necessity to conquer, forced their way beyond the Gauls, and a part also of the Africans that opposed them; and, with great slaughter, opened for themselves a passage, through the midst of the Carthaginian army. But when they saw, that both their Wings were irrecoverably routed; and that the numbers of the Carthaginian Cavalry, the river, and the rains which now fell strong and heavily, all combined together, to render their own return back again to their camp impracticable; they formed themselves into close order, and continued their march with safety to Placentia. The number of them was about ten thousand. The rest were trampled down in heaps, upon the banks of the Trebia, under the feet of the horses and the Elephants.

phants. A small part only that were able to escape, among whom were many of the routed Cavalry, joined those legions which we have just now mentioned, and retreated with them to Placentia. The Carthaginians, when they had pursued the enemy as far as to the river, were then forced to yield to the rigour of the season, and return back again to their camp. Their victory afforded no small joy. For though many of the Gauls were slain in the action, the loss of the Africans and Spaniards was very inconsiderable. But the rains and snows, which had fallen continually during that whole day, were so severe and fatal, that, of all the Elephants, one only was preserved alive: and great numbers also, both of men and horses, perished through the extremity of the cold.

Tiberius, after this misfortune, being willing, as far as he was able, to conceal the knowledge of it from the people in Rome, sent word only, that he had fought a battle, and that the badness of the season had robbed him of the victory. The Romans at first gave credit to this account. But not long afterwards, they were fully informed of all that had happened in the action, with the consequences also that had followed their defeat: That the Carthaginians had gained possession of their camp, and drawn all the Gauls to embrace their party: that the Roman legions had abandoned their intrenchments after the battle, and fled for safety to the neighbouring cities: and that they were deprived of all supplies, except those that were sent to them from the sea, up the river Po. An event, so contrary to all their expectations, filled them with no small amazement. They immediately renewed their preparations for the war with greater vigour than before; and used their utmost diligence, to secure those parts of their dominions that were most exposed: sending troops into Sicily and Sardinia; and placing a garrison in Tarentum, and in every other post, that needed such defence. They also equipped a fleet of sixty Quinqueremes. The Consuls, Cn. Ser-

vilius and C. Flaminius, who were just now elected to their office, raised new levies among the allies; enrolled the Roman legions; and having collected stores from every quarter, sent one part to Ariminum, and the rest towards Tyrrhenia; the places, into which they had resolved to lead their armies. They demanded succours also from King Hiero; who sent to their assistance five hundred Cretans, with a thousand heavy-armed Foot. In a word, every effort was exerted, and every measure practised, which zeal and extreme diligence could suggest. For such is the disposition and temper of the Romans, as well in publick affairs, as also in their private conduct, that whenever they have any real cause of fear, they are at that time themselves most greatly to be dreaded.

During this time, Cnæus Cornelius, who was left by his brother with the fleet, as we before related, steered away from the mouth of the Rhone; and having landed his troops in Spain near Emporium, advanced along the coast, and reduced by force all the cities that refused to surrender to him, as far as to the Iberus. But those, that voluntarily submitted, were treated by him with the greatest gentleness, and protected from every kind of injury. Having secured his conquests by sufficient garrisons, and received among his troops a great number of the Spaniards that had come to join him, he continued his march from thence into the inland parts of the country, and in his way gained many towns, some by persuasion, and some by force. When he arrived near Cissa, a body of Carthaginians, that were posted in that province under the command of Hanno, came and incamped before him, with design to stop his progress. But Cornelius, having immediately ranged his troops in battle, gave them an intire defeat, and gained an immense booty by his victory. For the army, that had marched with Annibal into Italy, had left all their baggage behind them in this place. He obtained the alliance also of all the people, that lived on that side of the Iberus:

Iberus: and took prisoner the Carthaginian General, Hanno; together with Andobalis, who was a sovereign Prince in that part of Spain, and had always strenuously supported the interests of the Carthaginians.

As soon as Asdrubal was informed of these transactions, he made haste to pass the Iberus with his army. And having received notice, that the naval forces of the Romans, grown confident from the success which the legions had now gained by land, had relaxed their usual discipline, and neglected all precaution, he sent away a body of eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horse; who, falling suddenly upon them, when they were dispersed on every side through all the country, killed great numbers of them, and forced the rest to fly precipitately to their ships. He then retired again, and repassed the Iberus: and having fixed his quarters for the winter in New Carthage, he employed all his care, to secure the posts that were on that side of the river, and to complete all the necessary preparations for the war. Cornelius also, when he had first returned to the fleet, and punished, as the military laws required, all those whose negligence had been the cause of the late misfortune, sent away to Tarraco both the naval forces and the legions, to take their winter quarters together in that city. And having made an equal distribution also of the plunder among all the troops, he gained to himself the favour of the army, and inspired them with the warmest hopes. Such was the condition of affairs in Spain.

C H A P. VIII.

AS the Spring now came on, the Consul Flaminius, with the forces that were under his command, directing his march through Tyrrhenia, passed beyond Arretium, and there incamped: while Servilius on the other hand advanced

vanced towards Ariminum, to oppose the entrance of the enemy on that side.

Annibal had fixed his winter quarters in the Cisalpine Gaul. During his continuance there, the Romans, that had fallen into his hands, were all confined in prisons, and scarcely received the food that was necessary to life. But their allies were treated by him with the greatest gentleness. After some time, having assembled these together, he told them; "that his intention was not to make war upon any of them; but on the contrary, to engage in their defence against the Romans: that their interest therefore, if they would judge with reason, must lead them to embrace his friendship: since the sole purpose of his coming, was in the first place to restore to all the inhabitants of Italy their ancient freedom; and to assist likewise each particular State, to recover again those towns and territories, of which the Romans had deprived them." After this discourse, he dismissed them all to their several countries, without demanding any ransom: imagining, that by this conduct he should gain them to his party, and inspire their minds with an aversion to the Roman government; or that those especially might be excited to revolt, whose ports and cities had been taken from them by the Romans.

At the same time, he practised also another artifice, which was truly Carthaginian. Having reflected with himself, that his connection with the Gauls was fresh and recent; and fearing, lest a people so noted for their fickleness and fraud, should on a sudden change their sentiments, and form designs against his life; he procured some artificial suits of hair, adapted to the looks of persons of every age, and different sorts of habits that corresponded with them: and varying his dress continually, he lay so well concealed under this disguise, that not those alone, who had seen him only in a transient view, but even his intimate acquaintance could scarcely know him.

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But the Gauls, not willing that the war should any longer be protracted in their country, began to grow importunate and clamorous, and demanded to be led against the enemy. This zeal, as they pretended, all arose from the resentment, which they had conceived against the Romans. But the real motive was no other than the hope of plunder. Annibal however resolved to gratify their impatience, and to begin his march without delay. As soon therefore as the Spring advanced, having inquired of those that were best acquainted with the country, he was informed, that all the common roads were not only of considerable length, but well known also to the Romans: but that, if he would venture to conduct the army over certain marshes, which would lead directly to Tyrrhenia, his march, though difficult indeed, would yet be short; and such also, as must fully disappoint the expectations of the enemy. As the difficulty only served to flatter the natural disposition of this General, he resolved that he would take his route that way.

As soon as this design was known among the army, the soldiers were all seized with consternation; and formed in their minds the most dreadful image of the pits and pools, into which they seemed ready to be plunged. But Annibal, being well assured, that the bottom of the marshes was firm and solid, began his march; placing in the van the Africans and Spaniards, with the most serviceable part of all his army; and mixing among them as much of the baggage only, as might serve for their supply in the present journey. For with regard to future use, he considered, that if they should prove victorious, and hold the open country against the enemy, their necessities would all be fully satisfied: and in case that they were conquered, that they would then be in want of nothing. After these, marched the Gauls: and last of all, the Cavalry. The care of the rear was left by Annibal to his brother Mago: chiefly on account of the effeminacy of the Gauls,

Gauls, and their known impatience of toil and hardship. For the orders given to Mago were, that he should press them closely from behind, and, as often as they appeared disheartened by the difficulties of the way, or shewed any inclination to return, should fall upon them with his Cavalry, and by force constrain them to advance.

The Africans and Spaniards pursued their way, without any immoderate pain or difficulty. For besides that the ground was fresh, and not yet broken, they were all men that were inured to toil, and by long use become familiar with such kind of hardship. But when the soil had been disturbed by the passage of the foremost troops, and trodden through to a considerable depth, the Gauls that followed were unable to advance a step, without extreme fatigue and labour: which were the heavier also, and more severely felt, because they had never been accustomed to such sufferings. Nor was it possible for them to return, while the Cavalry still pressed upon them from behind, and forced them to advance. Indeed all the army suffered much: chiefly through want of sleep. For during four whole days, and three nights successively, they marched continually through water. But the Gauls were harassed beyond all the rest; and even quite exhausted by their miseries. The greater part of the beasts, that were loaded with the baggage, stuck fast in the mud, and perished there. But their mischance afforded some convenience to the troops: who threw themselves down in heaps together, upon the bales that lay above the water; and thus, during some part of the night at least, obtained a little sleep. Many of the horses also left their hoofs behind them in this dreadful journey. Even Annibal himself, who was carried upon the only Elephant that remained alive, was saved with the greatest difficulty: having suffered, during all the march, great pain and anguish, from a disorder that had settled in his eyes. And as the time afforded neither leisure nor convenience
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for a cure, he was at last deprived by it of the sight of one of them.

Having now gained however, almost beyond all expectation, the end of this dangerous march, and hearing that Flaminius was still posted near Arretium, he at first incamped upon the edge of the marshes, that he might give some ease and refreshment to his troops; and at the same time employed all his pains, in searching into the designs and disposition of the enemy, as well as the condition of the country that was before him. He was soon informed, that the country was rich and fertile, and such as would afford a noble booty: and that Flaminius was a man, who was singularly formed by nature for gaining popular applause, and was immoderately ambitious of it: that he was filled with a high conceit of his own abilities; but in reality was destitute of all those talents, that are requisite in the affairs of war and real service. Annibal therefore was persuaded, that if he could once advance beyond the camp of the Romans, and waste the country before their eyes, Flaminius, provoked beyond all patience, and dreading the reproaches of the multitude, would run with haste to revenge the insult; would pursue all the motions of the Carthaginian army; would flatter himself with the hope of finishing the war alone, before his Colleague could arrive; and in a word, that he would thus afford to his enemies the opportunities that were desired, of attacking him with some advantage.

It is certain that these reflections were perfectly the result of wisdom and sound experience. For all men, even of moderate discernment, must acknowledge, that nothing is more useful, or of greater importance, in the conduct of a General, than to examine with the nicest care, into the character and natural disposition of the opposite Commander. For as in engagements of single men, or of rank with rank, the several combatants carefully survey the bodies of their adversaries, in

order to discern some part that may be open to their stroke ; in the same manner also, it is necessary that a General in the field should endeavour to discover, in the Chief that is sent against him, not what parts of his body are most vulnerable, but whether there be any weakness in his mind and character, through which he may be attacked with some advantage. For among those, that are placed at the head of armies, there are some, who are so deeply immersed in sloth and indolence, that they lose all attention both to the safety of their country, and their own. Others are immoderately fond of wine ; so that their senses always are disordered by it, before they sleep. Others abandon themselves to the love of women : a passion so infatuating, that those, whom it has once possessed, will often sacrifice whole cities, and even their honour and their lives, to the indulgence of it. Some again are cowards : which is esteemed no slight disgrace, even among private men. But in a General, this disposition is a publick evil ; and draws after it the most fatal consequences. For the troops under his command not only waste the time without attempting any thing, but, by their confidence in such a leader, are frequently betrayed into the greatest dangers. On the other hand, a precipitate rashness, a violence that rejects the rule of reason, pride, and vanity, and self-conceit, are all qualities, not more pernicious to the friends of those who possess them, than advantageous to the enemy. For men of this character are always ready to be taken in every snare. Every bait is sure to catch, and every artifice to delude them.

If a General therefore could be informed of all the weakness of his enemy, and would so regulate his designs, as always to attack the opposite Commander in the part in which he is most open to surprize, no power would long be able to withstand his efforts. For as a vessel, that has lost it's pilot, soon becomes an easy conquest, together with all the crew ; so likewise in the field, if the Chief can once be taken by his
foible,

foible, and led artfully to the snare that is most proper to intrap him, both himself, and all his army, must in a short time fall together into the power of the enemy. This therefore was the address, which Annibal now exerted against Flaminius: and the success was such, as fully answered even his strongest hopes.

For no sooner had he decamped from the neighbourhood of Fæfula, and advancing beyond the Roman camp, began to plunder and lay waste the country, than Flaminius, who considered this proceeding as a designed contempt and insult, swelled with fury and resentment. And when the destruction began to spread, and the smoke was seen to ascend from every quarter, he no longer could restrain his passion, but gave vent to it in bitter exclamations. In vain his officers represented to him, that it was by no means seasonable, to pursue or engage the enemy: that the strength, and numbers, of their Cavalry required that he should act with the greatest reserve and caution: and that on all accounts it would be far more prudent, to wait the arrival of the other Consul, and employ together the united forces of both armies. Flaminius was deaf to these remonstrances; and even offended with those that made them. "What, said he, must be the sentiments of all our fellow-citizens at home, when they see the country wasted even to the very walls of Rome, while we still keep our post behind the enemy, and remain idle in our camp?" With these words, he immediately began his march: disdain- ing to employ even the least care or foresight, with regard either to the time or place of action: and solicitous for nothing, but to overtake the enemy; as if the victory had been already in his hands. And indeed so strong was the assurance, with which he had inspired the multitude, that those who followed the army for the sake of booty, exceeded even the troops in number; and carried with them chains and fet-
ters,

ters, and other implements of the same kind, in very great quantity.

In the mean while Annibal still advanced towards Rome, through Tyrrhenia; having on his left Cortona and the neighbouring mountains, and the lake of Thrasymene upon his right: burning and destroying every thing in his way, that he might the more provoke the impatience and resentment of the enemy. But when he saw, that Flaminius drew near, and that the ground before him was very proper also for his design, he made all things ready for a battle.

In the road, through which the armies were to pass, there was a level valley, inclosed on either side by a chain of lofty mountains. At the farthest end of it stood a hill, that was rough, and difficult of approach. Near the entrance, was a lake: and between the lake and the foot of the mountains, a very narrow pass, which led into the valley. Annibal, entering along this defile, marched through the valley: and having gained the hill that was at the farthest end, he posted himself upon it, with the Africans and Spaniards. He then ordered the Balears, and the light-armed troops, who had marched in the van of all the army, to take a circuit round, and range themselves along the back of the mountains, that stood upon the right hand of the valley. The Gauls and Cavalry were disposed in like manner, behind those that were on the opposite side. And these latter were extended to so great a length, that the farthest troops reached even to the narrow pass, that was between the foot of the mountains and the lake, and which gave entrance into the valley. He posted some troops also in ambuscade, in different places through the valley: and having completed his whole disposition in the night, he then lay quiet, and expected the approach of the enemy.

Flaminius was following fast behind, being impatient to overtake the Carthaginians. Arriving late in the evening upon

on the lake, he incamped there for the night; and early on the following day, began his march into the valley. It happened, that the morning was unusually dark and misty. When the greatest part of the Roman army had now entered along the valley, and the foremost troops had almost reached the hill, upon which Annibal was posted, this General then gave the signal to engage; sent notice to the troops that were in ambuscade; and fell with fury upon the Romans, from every side. The suddenness of the attack, the darkness in which all objects were concealed from view, the vigour and rapidity of the enemy, who came pouring down in many parts at once from the hills above them, struck Flaminius and his officers with extreme amazement, and made even all defence impracticable. For so far were they from being able to give the necessary orders, that they neither knew nor comprehended any thing that passed. In the same single instant, they were charged at once in front, in flank, and in the rear. The greatest part therefore of the troops were destroyed in heaps, in the very order in which they marched: deprived even of the power of resisting; and betrayed as it were to death by the folly of their General. For while they yet stood deliberating on the measures that were fit to be pursued, they fell beneath the strokes of their adversaries, without any notice or warning of their fate. In the midst of this disorder, Flaminius himself, vexed and tortured with despair and rage, was surrounded by certain Gauls, who put an end to his life. Fifteen thousand Romans were destroyed in this valley; without being able either to fight, or to escape. For they esteem it the most sacred of all their institutions, on no account to fly, or ever to desert their ranks in battle. The rest, that were inclosed in the narrow pass between the mountains and the lake, lost their lives, in a manner that was still more wretched and deplorable. Hurried by despair, and pushed along in crowds before the enemy, they hoped to find
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their safety in the lake. But some, attempting to swim across it with their armour, were soon sunk and drowned. The rest and greatest part, having waded forwards till they were able to advance no farther, stood with their heads only above the water: and when the Cavalry followed closely after them, and their destruction seemed inevitable, they raised their hands, and with every suppliant voice and gesture begged for mercy. But all their prayers were vain, and disregarded. One part were slaughtered by the enemy: and the rest, having urged each other to the attempt, with their own hands deprived themselves of life. About six thousand only of all the army, who had marched the first along the valley, gave an intire defeat to the body that attacked their front. If these troops had returned again, and endeavoured to surround the Carthaginians, a relief so seasonable might have changed perhaps the whole fortune of the battle. But being ignorant of all that was transacted, they still continued to advance, expecting to be met by some new party, till at last they had gained insensibly the summit of the hills. From thence, as the mist was now dispersed, they saw the intire ruin of their army, and that the Carthaginians were completely masters of the field. Perceiving therefore that it was quite impracticable, to send any assistance to their routed forces, or in any manner to renew the fight, they formed themselves into close order, and retreated to a certain village of Tyrrhenia. But when the battle was ended, Maharbal, having received orders from the General to pursue them with the Spaniards and the light-armed troops, invested them closely in the place. The Romans, being thus beset with various difficulties, and seeing no way left to escape, consented to deliver up their arms, and yield themselves prisoners, on condition only that they should be dismissed with safety.

Such were the circumstances of the battle in Tyrrhenia, between the Carthaginians and the Romans. As soon as the prisoners

prisoners were conducted to the camp, Annibal, having ordered them to be brought before him, as well those that had surrendered to Maharbal, as the rest also that were taken in the action, whose numbers amounted all together to more than fifteen thousand men, told the former, that Maharbal had no power to give any promise of safety, without his authority and consent. He then began to accuse and reproach the Romans: and at last commanded, that they should be all distributed among the ranks of his army, and be guarded carefully. But he dismissed the Allies to their respective cities, without demanding any ransom; having first repeated to them the same discourse which he before had made: "that his intention was not to make war against the people of Italy, but on the contrary, to restore them to their liberty, of which they had been deprived by the Romans." He then gave the necessary orders for the refreshment of the troops; and paid the last honours to the chief among his officers, that had fallen in the battle. These were about thirty in number: and in the whole engagement he had lost no more than fifteen hundred men; the greater part of whom were Gauls. He afterwards deliberated with his brother and the rest of his friends, concerning the measures that were next to be pursued. His past successes had already filled him with the strongest confidence: and flattered him with the hope of every thing that was great and prosperous, with regard to the final issue of the war.

C H A P. IX.

WHEN the news of this defeat arrived at Rome, as the misfortune was much too great to be either softened or suppressed, the magistrates were forced to call together an assembly of the People, and to acquaint them with the whole transaction. But scarcely had the Prætor from the Rostra spoken these few words, "We have been defeated in a great battle,"

battle," than such was the consternation which immediately ensued, that those among the hearers, who had been present in the action, were in a manner forced to be persuaded, that the calamity was far more dreadful, than it had appeared to be even in the time of the engagement. For it was now so long a time, since the Romans had either suffered a defeat, or heard any mention of a battle lost, that even the sound itself was new, and full of horror: nor could they hear their loss so publicly avowed, without deploring the misfortune with a grief that was beyond all bounds. But the Senate still retained their firmness; and, as their post required, deliberated with great attention on the measures that were necessary to be taken, and in what manner they might best avert the consequences of this fatal accident.

About the time of the late engagement, Servilius the other Consul, who was posted near Ariminum, which stands towards the Adriatic sea, upon the confines which divide Gaul from the rest of Italy, and at no great distance from the mouths of the Po, having heard that Annibal had entered Tyrrhenia, and incamped near Flaminius, at first resolved to march immediately with all his army to support his Colleague. But because the legions were too heavy to perform the march with such expedition as was necessary, he sent away before four thousand of his Cavalry, under the command of Caius Centenius; that they might be ready to assist the Consul, in case that there should be occasion for it, before himself was able to arrive. But Annibal, being informed of their approach, ordered Maharbal to advance against them with the light-armed troops, and a part also of the Cavalry; who, falling upon them in their march, killed almost one half of the detachment, in the very first onset. The rest fled in haste to a neighbouring hill: but were pursued, and taken prisoners on the following day. The news of this misfortune arrived at Rome, within three days only after the account of the former battle; while
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the city was still inflamed, and every mind strongly filled with the sense of their first calamity. And now not the people only, but the Senate themselves, were struck with consternation and amazement. The usual business of the year was all neglected; the magistrates were no longer chosen as before; every one turned his thoughts to find some remedy against the impending evils; and the result of their deliberations was, that, in times so pressing, a Dictator only could protect the State, from the dangers which so nearly threatened it.

In the mean while Annibal, though he was now persuaded that the issue of the war would fully answer all his hopes, thought it not yet seasonable to advance nearer towards Rome; but continued his route through Umbria and Picenum, wasting the country without resistance, and after ten days arrived in the neighbourhood of Adria; having gained so immense a booty by the way, that the army could neither carry, nor remove it. He had destroyed great numbers of people also in his march. For so unalterable was his hatred of the Romans, and so deeply rooted in his mind, that he gave orders to his troops, that they should slay without distinction all those that were found of age to carry arms, in the same manner as when towns are taken by storm.

Having fixed his camp near Adria, in a country which produced all necessaries in the greatest plenty, he first employed his care, to provide such refreshment for the army, as might recover them from their present miserable state. For partly through the cold and nastiness, to which they had been exposed while they lay incamped in Gaul during the winter, and partly also from the fatigue which they had suffered in their march afterwards through the marshes, both the men and horses were now covered by a kind of leprous scurf: a disease, which is usually the consequence of famine and continued hardships. But these rich and fertile plains soon supplied both the opportunity and the means, of recovering the

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horses to their former vigour, and of restoring also the strength, and raising the spirits of the troops. He armed likewise all his Africans after the Roman manner, from the spoils that had been taken : and now for the first time sent some messengers to Carthage, with an account of his success; for he had never before approached near the sea, from the time of his first entrance into Italy. The Carthaginians received the news with the greatest joy. They began to fix their whole attention upon the affairs of Spain and Italy : and resolved to employ every effort, to support the war with vigour in those countries.

The Romans named for Dictator, Quintus Fabius : a man of noble birth, and great abilities : who gained, by his exploits, the Surname of Maximus ; which his descendants likewise have derived from him, and still enjoy. The office of Dictator is different, both in dignity and power, from that of Consul. Each of the Consuls is attended only by twelve Lictors ; the Dictator, by twenty-four. The Consuls are in many things restrained from acting, unless they have first obtained the approbation and concurrence of the Senate. But the authority of the Dictator is absolute, and uncontrouled : and from the time of his appointment, except only that the Tribunes still retain their office, all the Magistracies in the State are instantly dissolved. But we shall treat more fully of these subjects in another place. At the same time also, Minucius was declared Master of the Horse. This Officer is intirely subject to the Dictator : but in the absence of the latter, he succeeds as it were to his place, and becomes the delegate of all his power.

Annibal changed his camp from time to time, but continued still to move along the Adriatic coast. He ordered the horses to be bathed with old wine, which was found in great abundance in the country ; and soon healed the ulcerous humours, which had rendered them unfit for service. He recovered

covered the soldiers also from their wounds: and employed every care and remedy, to restore to all the troops their full strength and vigour. When this was done, he began his march; passed through the districts of Adria and Pretetia; traversed all the country of the Marucinians and Frentanians; and from thence advanced into Apulia; plundering and destroying every thing in his way. Apulia is divided into three separate districts, the names of which are Daunia, Peucetia, and Messapia. Annibal, having entered the first of these, wasted the lands of Luceria, which was a Roman colony: and afterwards, having fixed his camp near Hipponium, in the territory of the Argyripians, he from thence spread his troops over all the country, and ravaged it without resistance.

About this time Fabius, when he had first offered sacrifice to the Gods, set out from Rome, attended by Minucius, and carrying with him four legions, that were newly raised. When he arrived upon the confines of Daunia, and had joined the army that had marched into that province from Ariminum, he dismissed Servilius from his command, and sent him, well attended, back to Rome: with orders, that, if the Carthaginians should make any attempt upon the sea, he should be ready to observe their motions, and to act as occasion might require. He then advanced with all the forces, and incamped near a place called Æca, at the distance of about fifty stadia from the enemy.

As soon as Annibal was informed of their approach, he drew out all his army, and, in order to strike a terror into their new troops upon their first arrival, advanced very near to the Roman camp, and stood for some time in order of battle. But when the Romans remained still close in their intrenchments, he returned back again to his camp. For Fabius was fixed in his determination, not to hazard any rash attempt, or on any account to try the fortune of a general battle:

but on the contrary, to employ his chief and only care, to secure his troops from danger. At first indeed, this conduct drew upon him no small reproach and censure; while every one considered him, as a man that was cold and cowardly, and who feared to engage the enemy. But after some short time, the wisdom of his sentiments was clearly proved by the event: and all men then were ready to acknowledge, that the measures, which he now pursued, were by far the best and most judicious, that could be taken in the present circumstances. For the Carthaginian troops had all been exercised in one continued course of war, even from their earliest age. Their General also from his infancy was trained in camps; among those very troops which he now commanded. They had gained many signal victories in Spain: and had defeated the Romans and their allies, in two successive battles. But the point of greatest moment was, that they had no resource or hope, in any thing but victory. On the part of the Romans, all circumstances were contrary to these: so that their defeat must have been inevitable, if they had now risked a general battle. But Fabius wisely chose to have recourse to that one advantage, which belonged confessedly to the Romans; and to regulate the whole conduct of the war upon it. This advantage was, that they might still receive into their camp supplies both of men and stores; without any apprehension, that the source, from whence they were derived could ever be exhausted.

From this time therefore, he attended closely to the motions of the Carthaginian army; following still at a moderate distance; and taking care to secure, before the enemy, all those posts, which, from his acquaintance with the country, he knew to be most proper for his design. And as he still received supplies in the greatest plenty, he never sent his troops abroad to forage, or suffered them to straggle from the camp: but kept them always close together, and united

united in a body; attending carefully to every advantage, which time and place suggested; and by that means intercepted and destroyed many parties of the Carthaginian foragers, whom their contempt of the Romans frequently led away to too great a distance from their own intrenchments. Thus, while he diminished by degrees the numbers of the enemy, he at the same time exercised the strength of his own forces, and raised again their courage, which had been much depressed by the late defeats. But no persuasions could prevail upon him, to try the fortune of a general battle. This conduct was in all points very displeasing to Minucius: who mixed his sentiments with those of the discontented multitude; charging the Dictator with sloth and cowardice; and proclaiming on his own part the utmost impatience to seek and engage the enemy.

The Carthaginians, when they had ravaged all the places that have now been mentioned, passed the Apennine, and came into the country of the Samnites: which, as it naturally was very rich and fertile, and had now for a long time flourished in continual peace, afforded every kind of necessaries in so great abundance, that not all the waste and consumption which they made were sufficient to exhaust it. They made incursions likewise upon the lands of Beneventum, a Roman colony; and took Telesia, a city that was strongly fortified with walls, and which yielded also a very great booty. The Romans still followed close behind, at the distance of one or two days march; but never approached so near, as to afford the opportunity of a battle.

When Annibal perceived, that Fabius thus persisted to decline a general action, and yet refused to leave the field, he formed a very bold and hardy project, and resolved to throw himself at once with all his army into the plains of Capua, near the place that was called Falernus: being persuaded, either that the Romans must then be forced to venture on a battle;

battle ; or that all mankind would see, that he was confessedly the master of the open country : and that the neighbouring towns would from thence be struck with terror, and hasten to embrace his party. For though the Romans had been now defeated in two successive battles, not one single city had revolted from them, to join the Carthaginians. But all remained unshaken in their duty ; though many of them had on that account been exposed to the severest sufferings. Such was the dignity of the Roman Republick : and so great the awe and veneration, in which it was held by the allies.

It must be acknowledged, that this design was very wise and reasonable. For the plains of Capua are distinguished, not only by their natural beauty and fertility, above the rest of Italy, but by their happy situation also near the sea ; which fills their markets with the commerce of almost every part of the habitable world. Their cities likewise are more celebrated for their beauty, than any that are besides in Italy. Along the coast stand Sinuessæ, Cumæ, Dicæarchia, Neapolis, and Nuceria : in the inland parts, towards the north, Calenum and Teanum ; to the south and east, Daunium and Nola ; and near the middle of the country, Capua, the noblest and most splendid of them all. In a word, so delicious are these plains, that the Mythologists may seem perhaps to be not altogether removed from truth, in that which they relate concerning them. For these are called also the Phlegrean Fields ; as well as some other parts of the earth, that are distinguished by their beauty and fertility : and even the Gods themselves are reported to have contended together in former times for the sovereignty and possession of them. But besides these great advantages, this country also is by nature very strongly fortified, and difficult of all access. For as one part of it is bounded by the sea, the rest stands covered by a chain of lofty mountains, which admit no entrance, except only by the way of
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of three very narrow passes; of which one lies towards the country of the Samnites, another along mount Eribanus, and the third on the side of the Hirpinians. The Carthaginians therefore, by incamping in the very middle of these plains, were going as it were to stand upon a publick and conspicuous Theatre; from whence, they were sure to astonish all mankind by the uncommon boldness of the attempt, and, if the Romans should still decline a battle, to make it manifest, that they had driven them from the stage, and remained without dispute the masters of the open country.

With this design, Annibal, leaving now the territory of the Samnites, entered Campania by the pass of mount Eribanus: and having continued his march as far as to the river Athurnus, which flows through the middle of the plains, and divides them into two nearly equal parts, he incamped on that side of it which was nearest towards Rome; and from thence sent out his foragers, and wasted all the country without resistance. A design so bold and hazardous filled the Dictator with surprize; but at the same time fixed him still more strongly in his first determination. But Minucius, and the rest of the Roman officers, being all now persuaded, that the enemy were at last insnared in a place in which they might be attacked with great advantage, advised, that no moment should be lost; that they should hasten to pursue the Carthaginians; should offer battle to them in these plains; and save the noblest part of Italy from ruin. Fabius therefore was forced to yield to their impatience; and, covering his real sentiments, began his march with the greatest haste, as if he had concurred with them in the same design. But when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Falernus, he only shewed his army upon the bottom of the hills, marching still on one side of the enemy as they advanced, that he might not be thought by the allies to have intirely left the field: but refused to descend in-

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to the plain, or risk the fortune of a general engagement; as well from the other reasons that have before been mentioned, as most especially, because the Carthaginians were far superior to him in their Cavalry.

But Annibal, having now wasted all the country, and in vain endeavoured to draw the Romans to a battle, was again preparing to decamp: that he might be able to remove the booty, before it was consumed, into some place of safety, and there fix his quarters for the winter. For his intention was, that the troops not only should enjoy a present plenty, but be supplied continually with all kinds of necessaries in great abundance, for the time to come. When Fabius perceived, that the Carthaginians designed to take their route back again, by the same way along which they had entered, and that the narrowness and difficulty of the road afforded the most favourable opportunity to fall upon them in their retreat, he sent away a body of four thousand men, with orders, that they should possess themselves of the defiles through which the enemy were to pass; should attend, with the greatest care, to the proper time of action; and lose none of those advantages, which their situation could scarcely fail to throw into their power: while himself at the same time took his post, with the greatest part of all the army, upon a neighbouring hill which commanded the defiles.

The Carthaginians, continuing their march forwards, came and incamped at the very foot of the hills. The Romans were persuaded, that they should with ease recover all the booty; and even began to hope, that, with the advantage of the place, they might perhaps be able to give a full determination to the war. In this confidence, the Dictator was now employing all his thoughts and care, in examining into the nature of the several posts, and in making such a disposition as was requisite, with regard both to the time and manner of the

the attack. The necessary measures were all fully regulated: and were to have been carried into execution, on the following day.

But Annibal, having conjectured from all circumstances, what it was that the Romans, upon this occasion, would most probably attempt, contrived to defeat all their projects, and gave them neither time nor opportunity, to accomplish any part of that which had been thus concerted. Having assembled together all the pioneers and labourers of the army, who were under the command of Afdrubal, he ordered them to provide as much dry wood, and other combustible matter, as they were able to procure; to bind it together in bundles fit for torches; and to choose out of all the plunder two thousand of the strongest oxen, and conduct them to a little distance without the camp. At the same time, he shewed to them a certain hill, which stood between the camp and those defiles through which he was to pass: and instructed them, that, as soon as they should have received his orders, they should drive the oxen up the sides of the hill with great speed and force, till they had gained the top. He then dismissed them, that they might all take their supper, and afterwards a little sleep. But about three hours after midnight, having called them again together, he ordered them to bind the torches to the horns of the oxen, to set them on fire, and drive the beasts by violence before them towards the summit of the hill. The light-armed troops were posted also behind the pioneers: to assist at first in driving the oxen forwards. But as soon as the beasts should be engaged in a proper course of running, they were then commanded to spread themselves upon the right and left on both sides of them; to push their way with speed, and with loud shouts and noise; to possess themselves of all the eminencies; and be prepared to attack the enemy, if any of them should be found upon the summit of the hill. At the same time Annibal himself, with all his

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army,

army, advanced towards the passes: having in his van the heavy Infantry; the Cavalry, followed by the booty, in the centre; and the Gauls and Spaniards in his rear.

As soon as the Romans, who were posted in the entrance of the defiles, saw the light of the torches, imagining that Annibal was taking his route that way, they left immediately their first station, and hastened to ascend the hill. But when they approached the oxen, the sight of those strange fires filled them with doubt and consternation, and raised dreadful apprehensions in their minds, of some danger far more terrible than the truth. The light-armed troops, as they met together upon the summit of the hill, were engaged in some slight skirmishing. But the oxen, falling in among them, soon separated the combatants, and forced them to remain quiet in their place; expecting with impatience the appearance of the day, that they might then be able to discern the real state of things around them. The Dictator likewise, being in part surprized by what had happened, and suspecting that it covered some deceit; and partly also because he still persisted in his first determination, not rashly to engage in a general battle, remained quiet in his intrenchments, and waited for the day. In the mean while Annibal, perceiving that all things favoured his design, and that the Romans, who were appointed to guard the passes, had left their post, conducted his army through them, together with the booty, without any loss. And when day appeared, observing that his light-armed forces were exposed to some danger from the Romans that had gained the summit of the hill, he sent a body of Spaniards to their assistance; who engaged the enemy, killed about a thousand of them, and descended again in safety with the rest of the troops.

The Carthaginian General, having thus happily led his army back again from the plains of Capua, incamped without fear of any insult; and had now no other care, than to consider,

sider, in what place he should fix his quarters for the winter. This retreat spread a very great and general consternation through all the towns of Italy. The Dictator also was loaded with the severest censure and reproach: as if nothing, but the basest cowardice, could have suffered the enemy to escape, when he had such advantages in his hands against them. But Fabius still remained unshaken in his purpose. Being forced, within some days afterwards, to return to Rome, in order to assist in celebrating certain sacrifices, he delivered up the army to Minucius: and at the same time pressed him with the greatest earnestness, to be much less solicitous to gain any advantage against the enemy, than to cover his own troops from danger. But Minucius was so far from paying even the least attention to these intreaties, that on the contrary, while the Dictator was still speaking, his mind was wholly fixed on the design of fighting. Such was the state of the war in Italy.

CHAP. X.

ABOUT the same time Asdrubal, who governed the affairs of Spain, having ordered the thirty vessels, that were left with him by his brother, to be refitted during the winter, and added to them ten more also completely furnished and equipped, as soon as the Spring came on, ordered all the fleet, which consisted now of forty ships, to sail from New Carthage under the conduct of Amilcar, and to steer their course along the coast; while himself, having drawn the forces from their winter quarters, began his march, keeping his route likewise close along the shore; that thus both armies might meet, and act together, near the Iberus. Cnæus, having conjectured, without great difficulty, that this was the intention of the Carthaginians, at first resolved to begin his march by land, and to offer battle to their army. But when

he had afterwards received a more exact account of the number of their troops, and the preparations which they had made, he desisted from that design: and having equipped a fleet of thirty-five ships, and filled them with a body of select forces from the legions, he sailed from Tarraco, and arriving on the second day near the mouth of the Iberus, cast anchor at the distance of eighty stadia from the enemy, and sent away two light frigates, that belonged to the Massilians, to make discoveries. For this people were at all times ready to meet every difficulty, and to throw themselves the foremost into danger. And as their zeal, and generous attachment to the interests of the Romans, have been often shewn in later times, so were they most especially conspicuous, in the great services which they performed, during the course of the present war. As soon as these vessels were returned, with an account that the Carthaginian fleet was stationed near the mouth of the river, Cnæus immediately sailed away in haste, hoping to fall upon them by surprize, before they could receive any notice of his approach. But Asdrubal had long before sent his scouts abroad: and being now informed, that the enemy were advancing fast towards him, he ranged his army in battle upon the shore, and ordered all the naval forces to get immediately on board: and when the Romans appeared in sight, he sailed out to meet them, and raised the signal to engage. But the Carthaginians, though they began the fight with vigour, sustained it but for a short time only. For the troops, that stood in view along the shore, were so far from animating them to any higher degree of alacrity and confidence, that, on the contrary, they only served to check their courage, and restrain their efforts, by affording the prospect of an easy and secure retreat. As soon therefore as two of their ships were taken with their men, and four more disabled, their oars being broken and the soldiers killed, the rest all fled with great precipitation; and having forced their vessels close

close in to land, saved themselves among the troops that stood upon the shore. The Romans pursued boldly after them, to the very shore. And having bound fast behind the stern of their own vessels as many of the Carthaginian ships as could be set in motion, which were twenty-five in number, they sailed back again in triumph, and with no small joy: having thus, in the very first onset, gained a victory, which rendered them the intire masters of the sea, and by that means wholly changed the face of affairs in Spain.

As soon as the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, they immediately equipped another fleet of seventy ships. For they judged it to be a point of the last importance, with regard to the prosecution of the war, that they should still preserve their sovereignty upon the sea. This fleet, having first steered their course towards Sardinia, sailed from thence to Pisæ; in the hope, that they should there join Annibal, and be able to act in concert with him. But being informed that the Romans had sent against them a fleet of a hundred and twenty Quinqueremes, they returned back again to Sardinia, and from thence to Carthage. Servilius for some time followed after them with the Roman fleet: but when he found, that they had gained a very great distance from him, he desisted from the pursuit, and anchored in the port of Lilybæum. From thence having steered his course towards Cercina, which stands upon the coast of Afric, he forced the inhabitants to pay a sum of money, to save their country from being plundered. In his return, he made himself master also of the island Cossyrus: and having placed a garrison in the little town that was in it, he then sailed back again to Lilybæum, laid up the fleet in harbour, and returned not long afterwards to the army.

When the news arrived at Rome, of the victory that had been gained by Cnæus against the Carthaginians, the Senate began now to think, that it not only was expedient, but absolutely

olutely necessary, that they from this time should attend more closely to the affairs of Spain, and support the war in that country, with greater application and vigour than before. They resolved therefore that Publius Scipio, to whom this province was at first allotted, should sail away immediately with twenty ships, to join his brother Cnæus, and to act in concert with him. For they were under no small apprehensions, that the Carthaginians, in case that they could once obtain the conquest of this country, with all the wealth that might be drawn in great abundance from it, would in a short time become superior also upon the sea, and from thence be enabled more strongly to support the war in Italy, and to furnish Annibal from time to time with continual supplies both of men and stores. In order to avoid this danger, which indeed demanded their most serious care, they now sent Publius into Spain. This General, even upon his first arrival, pursued such measures, as greatly advanced the interests, and enlarged the power, of the Republick. For before this time, the Romans never had attempted to extend their views beyond the Iberus; but were fully satisfied with having gained the alliance of the people, that lived on this side of it. But Publius now passed the river, and resolved to maintain the war on the other side. An accident at the same time happened, which greatly favoured this design. The Romans, when they had passed the Iberus without any resistance from the neighbouring people, who were struck with terror at their approach, incamped near a temple that was consecrated to Venus, at the distance of about forty stadia from Saguntum; in a post, in which they not only were secure against all danger from the enemy, but were able also to receive supplies continually from their fleet, which, as the army advanced, had still sailed along the coast. In this place, the adventure happened to them, which I am going to relate.

At the time when Annibal was preparing to march into
Italy,

Italy, he had taken Hostages from all the towns of Spain, of whose fidelity he had any doubt, and ordered them to be kept together at Saguntum: both because this city was a place of strength; and because the government also of it was left by him in the hands of men, in whom he had an intire and perfect confidence. The hostages were all of them the children of the most distinguished families, in the several cities from whence they had been sent. There was a certain Spaniard, whose name was Abilyx; of high rank and character in his country; and one, who had always seemed to be attached more strongly even than any of his nation, to all the interests of the Carthaginians. This man, having carefully weighed all circumstances, and judging that the Romans had now the fairest prospect of success, formed the design of betraying his faith to his allies, and delivering up these hostages to the enemy: a project, truly worthy of a Spaniard and Barbarian. But he had persuaded himself, that this declaration of his zeal in favour of the Romans could not fail to raise him to a very high degree of credit and esteem among them: especially, when joined to a service of so great importance, and rendered in so critical a season.

He went therefore to Bostar, the Carthaginian General, who had been sent by Asdrubal to oppose the passage of the Romans over the Iberus, but not daring to risk a battle, had retired and fixed his camp near Saguntum, on the side towards the sea. He was a man of a mild and harmless disposition; easy and tractable in his nature; and not forward to suspect any ill designs. Abilyx, beginning his discourse with the subject of the hostages, represented to him, "that as the Romans had now passed the river, the Carthaginians no longer would be able by the means of terror to keep the Spaniards under due restraint: that the times required, that they rather should employ their pains, to win the affections of the people, and fix them in their interest by favour: that as
Saguntum

Saguntum might perhaps in a short time fall into the power of the Romans, who were now incamped before it, if Bostar, seizing the occasion, would send back the hostages to their parents and respective cities, he would not only disappoint the expectations of the enemy, who were earnestly solicitous to become masters of them, for this very purpose; but by his wise and timely care, in thus providing for the safety of these young men, would secure also the affection of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians: that if he would trust to Him the conduct of this business, he would take care abundantly to magnify the merit of the kindness; and, as he led the hostages to their several cities, would raise, not only in the parents, but in all the people of the country likewise, the warmest sentiments of esteem and favour, by painting in the strongest colours the generosity of this proceeding. In the last place, he reminded him; that himself might also expect to be rewarded in the amplest manner: and that every parent, when he had thus beyond all hope recovered what was dearest to him, would strive to exceed the rest in his acknowledgments, and load with favours the Commander, to whose power he was indebted for so great a happiness." By these, and many other arguments of the same kind, he prevailed on Bostar to approve of all that was proposed. And having fixed the day, on which he was to be in readiness, with some attendants, to receive the hostages, he then retired.

As soon as night was come, he went privately to the Roman camp, joined some Spaniards that were at that time in the army, and was carried by them to the Generals. And having, in a long discourse, represented to them the great alacrity and zeal, with which the Spaniards would all concur to promote the interests of the Romans, if through their means the hostages should be restored, he at last engaged to deliver the young men into their hands. Publius received this offer with the greatest eagerness and joy, and dismissed him with

with the assurance of immense rewards: having first appointed the time and place, in which he would himself attend his coming. Abilyx then returned again to Bostar, with some friends whom he had chosen for the occasion; received the hostages; and leaving Saguntum in the night, on pretence of concealing his motions from the enemy, passed beyond the Roman camp, and delivered them to the Generals at the appointed place. He was received by Publius with all possible marks of honour; and was charged with the care of conducting back the hostages to their respective cities. Some Romans also, that were most proper for the trust, were ordered to attend him. In every place through which they passed, the dismissal of these young men was highly magnified by Abilyx, as a signal instance of the clemency, and generous spirit, of the Romans. On the other hand, he displayed in the strongest colours, the jealous diffidence of the Carthaginians, and the severity with which they had always treated their allies. He urged his own example likewise, as an encouragement to them to revolt. By these persuasions, many of the Spaniards were led to embrace the friendship of the Romans. With regard to Bostar, he was thought to have acted with such weakness, as was by no means to be excused in a person of his age: and was afterwards involved, on that account, in very great misfortunes. The Romans, on the contrary, derived many advantages from this accident, in the prosecution of the war. But as the time for action was already past, both armies now retired to their quarters for the winter. In this state, we shall here leave the affairs of Spain, and return again to Italy.

C H A P. XI.

ANNIBAL, being informed by those whom he had sent to view the country, that the lands round Luceria and Gerunium afforded great quantities of corn, and that the last of these two cities was a commodious place for laying up his stores, resolved to fix his quarters for the winter there. Passing therefore beyond the mountain called Liburnus, he led his army to Gerunium, which was distant from Luceria about two hundred stadia. On his first approach, he endeavoured by gentle means to draw the citizens to his party: and even offered such engagements, as might secure to them the full performance of his promises. But when this proposal was rejected, he laid siege to the place; and having in a short time made himself master of it, ordered all the inhabitants to be destroyed. But he reserved the walls, together with the greater part of the houses, still intire; designing to convert them into granaries for the winter. He then ordered the army to incamp before the town, and threw up an intrenchment round his camp. From this post, he sent away two parts of all the forces, to gather in the corn: with orders, that each soldier should be obliged to bring a stated measure of it every day, to the officers of his own Company that were appointed to receive it. The remaining third part of the troops were left to guard the camp; or disposed, as occasion required, in proper posts, to support the foragers. As the country was plain and open, the number of the foragers almost infinite, and the season likewise proper for the work, vast quantities of corn were collected every day.

The Roman General Marcus, to whom Fabius had left the army when he returned to Rome, for some time shifted his post from hill to hill, attending to the motions of the Carthaginians, and flattering himself with the hope, that he should
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at last find some occasion to fall upon them with advantage from those eminencies. But when he heard, that they were masters of Gerunium, had fortified their camp before the town, and were employed in gathering stores from all the country, he immediately left the mountains; and descending along the promontory that gave entrance to the plain, incamped near the foot of a hill that was called Callene, in the district of Larinum; and resolved, without more delay, to bring the enemy to a battle. When Annibal was informed, that the Romans were so near, he sent one third part only of his troops to gather in the corn; and advancing with the rest towards the enemy, fixed his camp upon a hill, at the distance of about sixteen stadia from Gerunium: that he might restrain in some degree the ardour of the Romans; and be able also to support his foragers, as occasion should require. And when night came on, he ordered likewise a detachment of two thousand light-armed forces, to march and possess themselves of another neighbouring hill, which stood between the camps, and commanded that of the Romans. But as soon as day appeared, Minucius drew out also all his light-armed troops, and sent them to dislodge the Carthaginians from their post. The dispute was sharp and obstinate: but the Romans, having at last prevailed, remained masters of the hill; and came soon afterwards, with all their army, and incamped upon it.

As the distance between the two camps was now so inconsiderable, Annibal at first kept together in a body the greatest part of all the army. But after some days, he was forced to send abroad his detachments as before; to lead the cattle to their pasture, and to gather in the corn: having resolved, agreeably to his first design, not only to preserve intire the stores which he had already gained, but to draw together also as large a quantity of corn as he might yet be able to procure; that thus the troops, the beasts of burthen, and especially the

horses, might be supplied with all provisions in the greatest plenty, during the time of winter. For his chief and strongest hopes were founded on the Cavalry. When Minucius saw, that the greater part of the Carthaginian army was busied in this work, and dispersed on every side through all the country, he chose the time that was most proper for his purpose, and leading out all his forces, approached close to the intrenchments of the enemy with the legionary troops, drawn up in order of battle: and at the same time sent away, in separate divisions, his Cavalry and the light-armed forces, to fall upon the foragers; with orders, that they should take none alive. Annibal was in no small degree embarrassed by this sudden accident. For as the forces, that remained with him in the camp, were too few to be drawn out in battle against the legions; so neither, on the other hand, was he able to send any assistance to the rest, that were dispersed about the country. Great numbers therefore of the foragers were destroyed by the detachments that were sent against them: while the rest of the Roman forces, that were ranged in order of battle, arrived at last at such a height of insult, that they even began to tear away the palisade of the intrenchments, and almost besieged the Carthaginians in their camp. Annibal, though thus reduced to a condition that seemed indeed to be next to desperate, struggled with all his force against the storm; drove back the enemy as they advanced; and kept possession of his camp, though not without the greatest difficulty. But after some time, when Asdrubal was come to his assistance, with four thousand of the foragers who had fled together to the camp before Gerunium, he then resumed his courage, marched out of his intrenchments, and, having ranged his forces in order of battle at a little distance from the camp, at last repelled the ruin that so nearly threatened him. The Romans returned back again to their camp, elate with their success, and filled with the strongest hopes for the time

time to come. For many of the Carthaginians had fallen before the intrenchments: and a much greater number, of those that were spread through the country, were destroyed by the parties that were sent against them. On the following day, Minucius went and took possession of the camp which the Carthaginians now had quitted. For Annibal, as soon as the fight was ended, had resolved to return again to his first camp before Gerunium: being apprehensive, that if the Romans should march thither in the night, and finding the camp deserted, should take possession of it, they would by that means become masters of his baggage, and all his stores. After this action, the Carthaginians used great precaution, when they went abroad to forage: while the Romans, on the contrary, were bold and confident, and exposed themselves to danger, without any caution or reserve.

When the news of this success arrived at Rome, and was enlarged in the relation far beyond the bounds of truth, the people all were filled with the greatest joy. For first, as the despair into which they had lately fallen, with respect to the final issue of the war, seemed now to have given place to better hopes; so the terror likewise, that had hitherto been spread among the legions, and the inaction in which they had still remained, were judged clearly to have sprung, not from any want of courage in the troops, but from the cold and cautious disposition of the General. From this time therefore, Fabius was openly reproached by all; as a man, who through timidity had suffered even the fairest occasions to escape him: while Minucius, on the other hand, was raised so high in the opinion of the citizens by this exploit, that a resolution was taken in his favour, of which there was no example. For they declared him Dictator likewise: being persuaded, that the war would thus be brought to a quick decision. Thus there were at one time two Dictators, in-
trusted

trusted jointly with the conduct of a single war: a thing, never known before among the Romans.

As soon as Minucius was informed of the high applause and favour, which his conduct had gained for him among the citizens, and of the dignity to which the people now had raised him, he became much more eager and impetuous than before; and resolved to attempt every thing against the enemy. But Fabius was not to be moved by any of these accidents: but on the contrary, persisted even with greater firmness in his first determination. When he returned therefore to the army, and saw that Minucius was elated beyond all bounds; that he haughtily opposed him in every sentiment; and was urging him perpetually to venture on a battle; he offered to his choice, that he should either take in turn the single and supreme command of all the army; or remove with one half of the troops to a separate camp, and there pursue such measures as he should judge convenient. Minucius eagerly embraced the last proposal. The forces therefore were divided into two equal bodies; and incamped apart, having the distance of about twelve stadia between their camps.

When Annibal was informed, as well by this division of the forces, as from the prisoners also that were taken, that some contention had been raised between the Generals; and that it solely sprung from the ungovernable heat and ambition of Minucius; he was so far from apprehending, that this accident would in any manner prove pernicious to his interests, that on the contrary he conceived the hope of being able to draw great advantage from it. He resolved therefore from this time to observe with the greatest care the motions of Minucius; to meet, and restrain his ardour; and to prevent him in all his efforts. Between his camp and that of Marcus, there stood an eminence, from whence those, that should first gain

gain possession of it, might be able greatly to distress the enemy. Annibal resolved to seize this post: and not doubting but that the Romans, confident from their late success, would hasten to dislodge him from it, he employed the following stratagem. The country that was round the hill was a flat and naked plain: but the ground in many parts was broken and unequal, and abounded with various kinds of pits. He sent away therefore in the night a body of five hundred Horse, and about five thousand Foot; which were distributed in small divisions, of two and three hundred each, among the several cavities in which they best might lie concealed. And that they might not be discovered in the morning by the Roman foragers, he ordered his light-armed troops to take possession of the eminence before break of day. Minucius, perceiving what had happened, applauded his good fortune, and immediately sent away the light-armed troops, with orders that they should charge the Carthaginians with the greatest vigour, and exert all their efforts to drive them from their post. In a short time afterwards, he commanded the Cavalry also to advance: and himself then followed with the legions. His disposition was the same, as in the former battle. It was now clear day. But as the Romans directed their eyes, and whole attention, towards the combatants upon the hill, the Carthaginian troops, that were placed in ambuscade, remained secure and unsuspected. Annibal sent fresh troops continually to the hill: and himself in a short time followed with the Cavalry, and all the army. The Cavalry on both sides were soon engaged. But as the Carthaginians were far superior in their numbers, the light-armed forces of the Romans, being also pressed in this first conflict, fled back precipitately towards their own legions, and threw them into great disorder. In this moment, the signal was given by Annibal to the troops that were in ambuscade; who appeared on every side, and vigorously charged the Romans. And now not the light-armed

armed forces only, but the whole army was in danger of being irrecoverably lost. But Fabius, having from his camp observed the progress of the action, and perceiving that a general and intire defeat must soon ensue, drew out all his forces, and advanced in haste to the assistance of his Collegue. The Romans, though their ranks all were broken, now resumed their courage; and, as these troops approached, formed themselves again in order, and retired towards them for protection. But many of their light-armed forces had fallen in the action; and a much greater number of the legionaries, and bravest soldiers. Annibal, not daring to renew the fight, against troops that were fresh, and disposed in perfect order, desisted from the pursuit, and returned back again to his camp.

The Romans, being thus rescued from destruction, were at last fully sensible, that the rashness of Minucius had engaged them in such measures, as proved almost fatal to them: and that they owed their safety, not at this time only, but on former occasions likewise, to the cautious management of Fabius. The people also at Rome were now forced to acknowledge, that a wise and steady conduct, regulated by sound skill, and judgement in the art of war, is far to be preferred to all those rash and impetuous sallies, which result from mere personal bravery, and a vain desire of popular applause. From this time therefore, the troops, made wise by their misfortunes, incamped once more together; and resolved to leave to Fabius the whole conduct of the war, and punctually to receive and execute his orders. The Carthaginians drew a line between the eminence and their camp: and having thrown up an intrenchment also round the top of the hill, and posted some troops upon it, they had now leisure to complete, in full security, the preparations that were necessary for the winter.

C H A P. XII.

WHEN the time was come, in which the Romans usually elected their chief Magistrates, the people chose for Consuls, Lucius Æmilius and Caius Terentius; and the Dictators resigned their office. Æmilius, having ordered the former Consuls, Cn. Servilius, and M. Regulus, who had succeeded to that dignity after the death of Flaminius, to take upon them the intire command of the army in the field, in quality of his Lieutenants, remained still at Rome, to deliberate with the Senate on the measures that were fit to be pursued, and to raise new levies. And when he had enrolled the numbers that were necessary to complete the legions, he sent them to the army; with an exprefs order to Servilius, that he should by no means venture on a general action; but should from time to time engage the Carthaginians in such sharp and frequent skirmishes, as might serve to exercise the strength, and raise the courage, of his troops, and by degrees prepare them for a decisive battle. For it was now judged to have been the chief and only cause, of all the losses which hitherto the Romans had sustained, that their battles had been fought by new-raised levies, undisciplined, and without experience. At the same time also, the Prætor L. Postumius was sent with a legion into Gaul: to make a diversion there, and force the Gauls that were with Annibal to return and defend their country. The fleet, that had remained during the winter in the port of Lilybæum, was brought back to Rome. The Generals that were in Spain were supplied with every kind of stores. And in a word, whatever preparations were judged necessary for the war, were all completed with the greatest diligence and care.

Servilius punctually observed the orders of the Consul, and engaged only in some slight and separate skirmishes, which we

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shall

shall not now particularly describe. For though many of these little combats were very sharp as well as frequent, and were conducted by the Roman Generals with great skill and courage, yet both by reason of these orders, and from the circumstances also of the times, no action happened, that was of great importance, or in any manner general or decisive.

In these camps, opposite, and in sight of each other, both armies thus remained, during the whole winter, and the following Spring. But when the time of harvest drew near, Annibal, having left his camp before Gerunium, went and possessed himself of the Citadel of Cannæ; hoping that by this means he should at last be able to force the enemy to a battle. For the Romans had brought together to this place all the corn and other stores, which they had collected in the district of Canusium: and from hence their army constantly was supplied with necessaries. The town had been destroyed some time before. But as the Citadel remained, and fell now into the hands of the Carthaginians with all the stores, the Romans were thrown at once into the greatest difficulties. For they not only were deprived of their supplies; but such also was the situation of this post, that it commanded all the neighbouring country. The Generals therefore sent messenger after messenger to Rome; desiring earnestly to be informed, in what manner they should act in this conjuncture: since it was now no longer possible to decline a battle, in case that they should approach any nearer to the enemy. For the country was all wasted and consumed: and the allies were fixed in expectation, and waited with impatience for the event. The opinion of the Senate was, that they should venture on a battle. But they advised Servilius, to delay it yet for some time longer: and gave orders, that the Consuls should leave the city, and hasten to the camp. For all men now had turned their eyes towards Æmilius: who, as well by reason of the
constant

constant probity of his life and manners, as on account also of the great services which his country had received some time before, from his brave and skilful management of the war against the Illyrians, was judged most capable to satisfy their fullest expectations, in this dangerous and critical conjuncture. It was ordered likewise, that the army should consist of eight legions; a thing, never known before in any of their wars; and that each legion should contain five thousand men, besides the allies. For the constant custom of the Romans, as we have already mentioned, was to raise four legions only; and to allow to each, four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse. In case that they were pressed by any great and unusual danger, they then increased the number to five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. The Infantry of the allies was the same in number with that of the legions: but their Cavalry three times as many. Of these forces, one half of the allies, and two legions, were allotted separately to each Consul; who was then sent to prosecute the war apart, in his own proper province. Thus their battles had been always fought by a single Consul, with two legions only, and an equal proportion of the allies. For it had very rarely happened, that all the forces were employed together in any single expedition. But now, their apprehensions were so great, that they resolved to send, not four, but eight legions, at once, into the field. They represented also to Æmilius, in the strongest terms, the happy consequences that must attend a victory, and on the other hand, the ruin that could scarcely fail to follow his defeat: and exhorted him to choose his time for action with such skill and judgement, as might give at once a final issue to the war, in a manner worthy of his own great character, and of the dignity of the Roman name.

As soon as the Consuls arrived in the camp; they called the troops together; informed them of the resolutions of the

Senate; and employed all the exhortations that were suited to the present circumstances. Æmilius chiefly, who was himself very deeply affected with the distresses of his country, addressed the soldiers in the most earnest and pathetick manner. He explained to them the causes of the late defeats; and endeavoured to dissipate the fears, which the remembrance of them had impressed upon the minds of all the army. He told them, that it was easy to assign, not one, but many causes of the ill success, that had attended them in all their former combats: but that at this time, nothing, but the want of resolution, could deprive them of the victory. That hitherto, they had never been engaged, with both Consuls together at their head. That the soldiers likewise were all new-raised levies; unused to the sight of danger, and unpractised in the art of war: and, which was still a circumstance of greater moment, that they were so far from being acquainted with the condition of the forces that opposed them, that on the contrary, they were hurried to the fight, before they had even so much as seen the enemy. For the troops that were defeated near the river Trebia, arrived one day from Sicily, and early on the next were drawn out in battle. And those that fell afterwards in the fight of Thrasymene, had not only never seen their enemies before the combat, but were prevented also, by the mist, from seeing them even in the time of the engagement. "But now Romans, continued he, you see that all things bear a different face. You have now both Consuls together at your head; ready to divide all danger with you. And even the Consuls also of the former year have consented to remain, and to bear their part in the approaching battle. You are now acquainted with the numbers of the enemy; the manner in which their troops are armed; and their disposition in the field. And during the course of two whole years, scarce a single day has passed, in which you have not tried your strength against them. Since therefore
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every circumstance is so different from those that were found in all your past engagements, the event must be also different. For how improbable, or rather how impossible a thing must it be thought, that troops, which have returned so often with success from little combats against equal forces, should now fail, with more than double numbers, to obtain the victory in a general battle? Since then, Romans, all things afford such strong assurances of success, nothing now is wanting, but that yourselves be in earnest resolved to conquer. But this surely is a point, on which there is no need that I should much enlarge. If I were speaking indeed to mercenary soldiers, or to an army of allies, engaged in the defence of some neighbouring State, this kind of exhortation might perhaps be necessary. For the worst that can befall such troops, is the danger to which they are exposed during the time of action: since they have scarcely any thing, either to apprehend, or hope, from the issue of it. But with you, who are prepared to fight, not for the defence of others, but for the safety of yourselves, your country, wives, and children, the consequences of the battle will be of far greater moment, than all the dangers that are now before you. Reflect but for a moment only on those consequences; and such reflection, if I judge aright, will fully supply the place of the most pathetick exhortations. For who is there among you, that is not fixed already in his choice, to conquer if it be possible; and if not, to die: rather than behold the things that are dearest to him, exposed to insult and destruction? Turn your views forward therefore to the event: and consider on the one hand the advantages, and on the other, the dreadful ruin that may possibly ensue. Remember, Romans, that the battle is not to decide upon the fortune of these legions only, but on that of the whole Republick. For in case that you are now defeated, Rome can no longer stand against the enemy. Her whole strength and spirit, the fruits of all her pains, and the grounds

grounds of all her hopes, are now bound together and collected in your single army. Let your efforts then be such, as may fully answer all her expectations. Shew yourselves the grateful children of your country: and make it manifest to all mankind, that the losses, which the Romans have hitherto sustained, are by no means to be ascribed to any superior force or courage in their enemies; but to the circumstances only of the times, and the want of experience in the troops that were engaged." After this harangue, Æmilius dismissed the assembly.

On the following day, the Consuls began their march, and advanced towards the enemy: and on the second day, they incamped at the distance of about fifty stadia only from the Carthaginians. But as the country was all plain and open, and the enemy superior in their Cavalry, Æmilius was persuaded that it would be still most prudent to decline a battle, till they had drawn the Carthaginians to some other ground, in which the Infantry might bear the chief part in the engagement. But Varro, ignorant, and unskilled in war, was fixed in different sentiments. And from hence arose ill humour, and dissension, between the Generals: a thing, the most pernicious that can happen in an army. The Roman custom was, that when both Consuls were together in the field, they should command alternately, day by day. On the next day therefore, when Varro commanded in his turn, he ordered the army to decamp; and, unmoved by all the intreaties of his Collegue, resolved to approach yet nearer to the enemy. Annibal, informed of his design, advanced to meet him with his Cavalry and the light-armed forces; and falling suddenly upon the Romans as they marched, threw them into great disorder. But the Consul, having placed some of the heavy troops in front, to sustain the fury of the first attack, led afterwards to the charge his Cavalry and light-armed Foot; and inserted among them also some cohorts of the legions. This precaution

caution turned the victory intirely to his side against the enemy, who were destitute of the like support. But the night, which now came on, forced the combatants on both sides to retire: when the issue of the action had proved in all points contrary to that which the Carthaginians had expected from it.

On the following day, Æmilius, who still was earnest to decline a battle, but saw that it was now impossible to retreat with safety, incamped, with two thirds of all the forces, along the Aufidus; the only river, that flows through the Apennine. For this chain of mountains separates all the other streams of Italy: of which, one part are discharged into the Adriatic, and the rest into the Tyrrhenian sea. But the Aufidus takes it's sources on the side of the Tyrrhenian sea; passes through the Apennine; and falls at last into the Adriatic Gulph. The remaining third part of the army were ordered by Æmilius to pass the river; to advance up the stream; and there to lie intrenched; at the distance of about ten stadia from his own camp, and not much farther from that of the enemy. His intention was, to employ these forces, as well to cover and support his own foragers, as to harass those of the Carthaginians.

But Annibal, perceiving that all things tended fast towards a general battle, thought it necessary, that he should first endeavour to raise again the courage of his army; which seemed to have been in some degree depressed, by the loss which they had sustained in the late engagement. He therefore assembled all the troops together; and having commanded them to cast their eyes upon the country round, "Tell me soldiers, said he, if the Gods had left it to your choice, could you have formed any greater wish, superior as you are in Cavalry to the enemy, than to contend with them upon such a ground, for a victory that must decide the war?" The army all cried out, and the thing indeed was manifest, that they

they could not have desired any greater advantage. "Pay your thanks then, continued he, in the first place to the Gods, who have secured the victory in your hands, by leading your enemies into such a country; and afterwards, to me your General, who have forced them to the necessity of fighting. For, how great soever our advantages are against them, they have now no means left to decline a battle. For your part, there is surely little need, that I should now exhort you to perform your duty with bravery and spirit. Before you had ever tried your strength against the Romans, such discourses might perhaps be seasonable: and in that persuasion, I endeavoured frequently to raise and animate your hopes, not by exhortation only, but by examples likewise. But now, since you have gained against them the most perfect victory in three successive battles, what words can I employ, to excite any greater confidence than that which the remembrance of your own actions must inspire? By your former combats, you gained possession of the open country: for such was the assurance which I had given you; and the event confirmed my promise. But now, I offer to your hopes the towns and cities of your enemies; with all the treasures which they contain. Be victorious only in this single battle, and all Italy will be ready to receive your laws. Your labours and your toils will then all be ended. The wealth and power of the Romans will become your own; and render you the undisputed sovereigns of the world. Let us hasten then to action: and with the assistance of the Gods, I will again make good my promise to you." This harangue was received by all the army with the loudest acclamations. Annibal having applauded their good disposition, dismissed the assembly; and went soon afterwards and incamped very near to the enemy, on that side of the river, upon which the greater camp of the Romans lay.

On the following day, he gave orders that the troops should
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take the necessary refreshment and repose, and make all things ready for the combat. And on the third day, he drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, in sight of the enemy, along the bank of the river. But Æmilius, sensible of the disadvantage of the ground, and knowing also, that the want of provisions would soon force the Carthaginians to decamp, resolved not to move from his intrenchments; and made only such a disposition of his forces, as was necessary to secure both camps from insult. Annibal therefore, when he had for some time kept the field, led the rest of his army back again to their intrenchments; but sent away the Numidian Horse, to fall upon the Romans of the little camp, who were employed in fetching water from the river. The boldness of these troops, who advanced even close to the intrenchments, raised Varro's indignation beyond all bounds. The soldiers also shewed the greatest eagerness and impatience to engage: and could scarcely bear, that the battle should any longer be deferred. For when men are once firmly fixed in their determination, to force their way through the greatest dangers to the end which they have in view, every moment of delay is a burthen that can hardly be supported.

When it was known at Rome, that the armies were incamped in sight, and that frequent skirmishes happened every day between them, the whole city was filled with agitation and concern. For the people were still so much dejected by the remembrance of the former losses, that they seemed now to apprehend the worst that could befall them, and to anticipate in their minds all the fatal consequences of an intire defeat. The oracles of their sacred books were repeated in every mouth. Every temple, and every house, was filled with prodigies and portents: which gave occasion to innumerable vows, and prayers, and supplicatory sacrifices. For in times of danger or distress, the Romans take unwearied pains,

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to appease the wrath of Gods and men: and think nothing fordid or dishonourable, that is employed in that design.

On the following day, when the command had fallen in turn to Varro, this General put all the troops in motion by break of day. He ordered those of the greater camp to pass the river; and as they gained the other side, drew them up in order of battle; joining also to them, in the same line, the troops of the little camp. Their faces were all turned towards the south. He placed the Roman Cavalry on the right Wing, close upon the river: and next to these, the Infantry, extended in one single line. But the cohorts were drawn up behind each other in much closer order than was usual among the Romans; and their files so doubled, as to give to the whole line a greater depth. The Cavalry of the allies closed the line upon the left. And at some distance, in the front of all the army, stood the light-armed troops. The whole number of the forces, with the allies included, were eighty thousand Foot; and somewhat more than six thousand Horse.

At the same time Annibal, having first sent over the Balearic slingers and the light-armed troops, to take their post in front, passed the river in two places with the rest of the army, and ranged them in order of battle. The Spanish and Gallic Horse were posted on the left; close upon the bank of the river; and opposite to the Roman Cavalry. Next to these, upon the same line, he placed first one half of the heavy-armed Africans; then the Gauls and Spaniards; after these, the rest of the Africans; and closed his whole line upon the right, with the Numidian Cavalry. When he had thus ranged all his forces in one single line, he advanced towards the enemy, being followed only by the Gauls and Spaniards of the Centre. Thus he detached these troops from the line in which they had stood together with the rest; and, as he advanced, he formed them also into the figure of a Crescent:

Crescent: at the same time spreading wide their ranks, and leaving to this Figure but a very inconsiderable depth. His intention was, to begin the action with the Gauls and Spaniards: and to support it afterwards by the Africans. The Africans were armed after the Roman manner, from the spoils that had been taken in the former battles. The Gauls and Spaniards wore the same kind of buckler; but their swords were different. For those of the latter were formed, as well to push with as to strike; whereas the Gauls could only use their swords, to make a falling stroke, and at a certain distance. These troops were ranged together in alternate cohorts: and as the Gauls were naked, and the Spaniards all clothed with vests of linen bordered with purple, after the fashion of their country, their appearance was both strange and terrible. The Carthaginian Cavalry amounted in the whole to about ten thousand: and the number of their Infantry was somewhat more than forty thousand, with the Gauls included. The right of the Roman army was conducted by Æmilius; the left by Varro; and the Centre by Regulus and Servilius, the Consuls of the former year. On the side of the Carthaginians, Asdrubal had the care of the left; Hanno of the right; and Annibal himself, with his brother Mago, commanded in the Centre. Both armies were alike secure from being incommoded by the rising sun: for the one was turned towards the south, as we have already mentioned, and the other towards the north.

The action was begun by the light-armed troops, that were posted before the armies. In this first conflict, the success was on both sides equal. But when the Spanish and Gallic Cavalry, advancing from the left Wing of the Carthaginians, approached near the Romans, the contest, that ensued between them, was then indeed most warm and vehement; and such as resembled rather the combats of barbarians, than a battle fought by disciplined and experienced

troops. For instead of falling back, and returning again often to the charge, as the custom was in such engagements, they were now scarcely joined, when, leaping from their horses, each man seized his enemy. But after some time, the victory turned wholly to the side of the Carthaginians. The greater part of the Romans were destroyed in the place, after a most brave and obstinate contention: and the rest, being closely followed, as they fled along the river, were all slaughtered likewise, without being able to obtain any mercy.

About the time when this combat was decided, the light-armed troops on both sides retired back again to their respective armies, and the heavy Infantry advanced to action. The Gauls and Spaniards stood for some time firm against the enemy. But being at last forced to yield to the weight of the Roman legions, they retreated backwards, and thus opened the figure of the Crescent, in which they had been formed. The Romans followed with alacrity and eagerness: and without much difficulty forced their way through the ranks of the enemy, which were loose and thin; whereas themselves on the contrary had drawn away many cohorts from the Wings, to strengthen their Centre, in which at this time all the stress of the battle lay. For the action was not begun by the whole line at once, but singly by the Centre: because the Gauls and Spaniards, as they formed themselves into the figure of a Crescent, had advanced far beyond the Wings of their own army, and offered only the convex of the Crescent to the enemy. The Romans therefore, still pushing forwards through the middle of these ranks, which still gave way before them, were at last so far advanced within the Centre, that they saw on either side the heavy-armed Africans stand ready to inclose them. Nor did these troops long neglect the occasion, which of itself most clearly pointed out the measures, that were now proper to be taken. For turning suddenly, the one part of them from the right to the left, and the other from

from the left to the right, they fell with fury upon both flanks of the Romans. And thus the event happened, which Annibal chiefly had in view. For this General had foreseen, that the Romans, in pursuing the Gauls and Spaniards, must at last inevitably be inclosed between the Africans. By this means they were now forced to break their Phalanx; and to defend themselves, either singly, or in separate parties, against the enemies that were attacking them in flank.

Æmilius, who at first was posted on the right, and had escaped from the general slaughter of the Roman Cavalry, perceiving that the fortune of the battle was now to be decided by the Infantry alone, and being earnestly solicitous, that his actions should in no respect fall short of those assurances, which he had given when he harangued the army, drove his horse into the very middle of the combatants; killing and dispersing every thing in his way; and employing all his efforts, to animate the soldiers that were near him. Annibal did the same on his part: for he had remained still in the Centre, from the beginning of the engagement.

The Numidians of the right Wing had charged the Cavalry of the allies upon the left. And though, by reason of their peculiar way of fighting, no great loss was sustained on either side, yet as they still from time to time returned again to the attack, they by that means held those troops so constantly employed, that they had no leisure to assist the rest. But when the Cavalry of the left, that was led by Asdrubal, and which now had finished the destruction of almost all the Roman Cavalry that fled along the river, came round and joined the Numidians, the Cavalry of the allies were at once seized with terror, and, not waiting to receive the charge, immediately turned their backs and fled. Upon this occasion, Asdrubal bethought himself of an expedient, which indeed denoted his great prudence, and his skill in war. Observing that the Numidians were considerable in their numbers; and
knowing

knowing also, that these troops were then most terrible, whenever they were engaged against a flying enemy; he ordered them to pursue those that fled; and at the same time led his own Cavalry to the assistance of the African Infantry. He fell upon the Roman legions, in their rear; and having divided his Cavalry into little troops, sent them into the midst of the action, in many different parts at once. By this wise measure, he gave new strength and courage to the Africans; while the Romans on the contrary began to lose all hope. It was at this time, that Æmilius fell, oppressed with wounds: and that life, which had on all occasions been devoted to the service of his country, was now lost in it's defence. The Romans, though surrounded thus on every side, turned their faces to the enemy, and resisted yet for some time longer. But as the troops on the outside fell, their body by degrees was more and more diminished; till at last they were pressed together within a very narrow space, and were there all destroyed. Among them fell Regulus and Servilius, the Consuls of the former year; both, eminent for their virtue; and whose behaviour in the action was such as shewed them to be worthy of the name of Romans.

During the time of all this slaughter, the Numidians, pursuing the Cavalry of the left, who fled before them, killed the greatest part, and threw many from their horses. A small number only escaped safe to Venusia; among whom was Varro, that base and worthless Consul, whose government proved so pernicious to his country.

Such was the battle of Cannæ: in which, both sides long contended for the victory with the greatest bravery. Of this the action itself affords the clearest proof. For of six thousand Horse, which was the whole Cavalry of the Roman army, seventy only fled with Varro to Venusia; and three hundred more of the allies escaped to different cities. Of the Infantry, ten thousand men indeed were taken prisoners; but these had

no

no part in the action. And about three thousand also found the means to escape to some of the cities that were near. But the rest, to the amount of seventy thousand men, all died with honour in the field of battle.

The Carthaginians upon this occasion, as in all the former battles, were indebted chiefly for their victory to the numbers of their Cavalry. And from hence succeeding ages may be able clearly to perceive, that, in time of war, it is far more advantageous, to have a great superiority of Cavalry, with no more than half the Infantry, than an army, that is in all parts equal to the enemy. On the side of Annibal were slain four thousand Gauls; fifteen hundred Africans and Spaniards; with about two hundred Horse.

The Romans that were taken prisoners had no part in the action, as we have just now mentioned. For Æmilius had left behind him in the camp ten thousand of the Infantry; having considered with himself, that if the Carthaginians should draw out all their forces to the battle, these troops might fall upon their camp during the time of the engagement, and make themselves masters of the baggage; and on the other hand, if Annibal, in apprehension of this danger, should send a detachment from his army to guard the camp, that the numbers of the enemy would thus be lessened in the field. They were taken prisoners in the following manner. As soon as the action was begun, they advanced to force the intrenchments; which Annibal however had left strongly guarded. The Carthaginians stood for some time firm, and repelled the efforts of the enemy: but were at last so pressed, that they were scarcely able any longer to maintain their post. But when the battle was now in every part completely ended, Annibal, having brought some troops to their assistance, drove back the Romans, and invested them in their own camp. Two thousand of them were killed, and the rest made prisoners. About two hundred also of the routed Cavalry, who had
saved

saved themselves in some of the fortresses of the country, were invested by the Numidians in the posts into which they had retired, and were brought away prisoners to the camp.

The immediate consequences of this victory were such as both sides had expected from it. The Carthaginians became at once the masters of the whole sea coast, and of that part of Italy which was called Great Greece. The Tarentines surrendered without delay. The Argyripians, with some of the cities also of Campania, sent offers of submission. And in a word, all the neighbouring people began now to turn their eyes towards the Carthaginians: who on their part were persuaded, that they should take even Rome itself, upon their first approach. The Romans on the other hand, not only renounced all hopes of being able any longer to retain the sovereignty of Italy; but were filled also with the greatest apprehensions, with regard even to the safety of themselves, and their own proper country; expecting that the Carthaginians instantly would arrive, to finish their destruction. And as if fate itself had taken unusual pains to fill up the measure of their misfortunes, and had joined with their enemies against them, it happened, that not many days after this defeat, while the consternation still was fresh, the news came to Rome, that the Prætor, that was sent into Gaul, had fallen into an ambuscade, and was destroyed with all his army.

In the midst however of these calamities, the Senate had recourse to every measure that was practicable, in order to preserve their country. They harangued the people, and raised their drooping courage: they provided all things that were necessary for the security of the city: and pursued their deliberations with the greatest firmness: as it appeared indeed not long afterwards in the event. For though the Romans were now plainly conquered and depressed, and forced to yield to their enemies the whole honour of the war; yet, through the prudence of their counsels, and the inherent excellence

cellence of their government, they not only drove the Carthaginians out of Italy, and again recovered the sovereignty of that country ; but within a short time afterwards reduced beneath their yoke even the whole habitable world. Upon this account, having now finished the relation of all that passed in Italy and Spain, during the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, as soon as I shall have gone through the affairs of Greece, that were transacted likewise within the course of the same period, I shall then treat expressly of the form and constitution of the Roman Republick. For as the Subject is itself by no means foreign to the nature or design of History ; so I am persuaded also, that those especially, who are employed in the affairs of government, will find in it many things that may be highly useful, both in establishing, and reforming States.

THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Fourth. CHAP. I.

WE shewed, in the preceding Book, what were the causes of the second War between the Carthaginians and the Romans, and what the manner, in which Annibal entered Italy; and recounted also the several combats that ensued, to the battle that was fought at last near the city of Cannæ, upon the river Aufidus. We now go on to describe the affairs of Greece, that were transacted during the same period, and in the course of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: but shall first in few words remind the reader of the things that were mentioned by us on the subject of this country in the second of our Introductory Books, and more especially of that which we there related concerning the fortunes and condition of the Achæan Republick; because this State, within the compass of our own times, and of those which immediately preceded, has grown to a very amazing height of strength and greatness.

Beginning then from Tisamenes, one of the children of Orestes, we remarked, that the descendants of that Prince reigned after him in Achaia, in direct succession down to Ogyges. That afterwards, the Achæans changed their government to a Democracy, which was instituted with great skill and wisdom: and that this establishment was broken by the arts of the kings of Macedon, and the people all dispersed into separate and independent towns and villages. We then shewed the time and manner, in which they began again to unite together; and what were the cities, which associated themselves the first into the new Confederacy. We also explained at large the measures that were employed, and the motives that were used, to draw the other cities to this union; and to engage by degrees the whole people of Peloponnesus, to embrace the same common appellation, the same laws, and the same single government. After this general view of the design, we then related in their order, though in few words, the chief transactions that succeeded, to the final overthrow and flight of Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon. And having thus given a summary account, in the way of an Introduction to our History, of the events that happened in the world, to the time in which Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, all died together, we then promised to go on to the commencement of our History; and to begin with those transactions, that were the next in order to the deaths of those three princes, and to the events which we had last related.

This period seemed to be on many accounts the best that I could choose, for the beginning of my Work. For first, as the Memoirs of Aratus are here concluded, that which I shall now relate concerning the affairs of Greece, may be considered as a regular and close continuation of his History. In the next place, the times which now succeed, and which fall within the limits of this Work, are in part the very times in which we ourselves have lived, and partly those of our immediate

mediate ancestors. And from hence it happens, that the things which I have undertaken to describe, are either those which I myself have seen, or such as I have received from men that were eye-witnesses of them. For in case that I had gone back to a more early period, and borrowed my accounts from the report of persons, who themselves had only heard them before from others, as it would scarcely have been possible, that I should myself be able to discern the true state of the things that were then transacted, so neither could I have written any thing concerning them with sufficient confidence. Another, and indeed the strongest motive, by which I was inclined to choose this *Æra*, was, that about this time Fortune had intirely changed the face of things, in all the countries of the world at once. For it was now that Philip the son of Demetrius, before he had arrived at perfect age, took possession of the Macedonian kingdom: and that Achæus, who was sent to govern the country on this side of mount Taurus, assumed the rank and power of a sovereign prince. At the same time it happened, that Antiochus surnamed the Great, who was also extremely young, was raised to the throne of Syria, in the place of his brother Seleucus, who had died not long before: that Ariarathes obtained the sovereignty of Cappadocia; and Ptolemy Philopator that of *Ægypt*: that Lycurgus was elected king of Lacedæmon: and lastly, that Annibal was invested by the Carthaginians with the command of their armies, and the government of the affairs of Spain, as we have before related.

Thus then as the supreme dominion had fallen, in every State, into the hands of new kings and masters, it was reasonable to expect, that a change so general must give birth to new commotions. For this naturally happens in such circumstances: nor did it fail now to happen. The Carthaginians and the Romans were soon engaged in the war which we have already in part described. At the same time Antiochus

chus and Ptolemy contended together for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. And Philip also, in conjunction with the Achæans, turned his arms against the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians. The causes of this last war were those which I am now going to relate.

The Ætolians had been long dissatisfied, that they were forced to live in peace, and at their own expence; accustomed, as they had always been, to subsist upon the plunder of their neighbours, and slaves by nature to an uncontrouled and restless appetite, which both multiplied their wants, and urged them on to rapine, as the only means by which they could be gratified; so that they lived the life of wild beasts of prey, invading every thing within their reach, and making no distinction between friends and enemies. During the life-time however of Antigonus, their apprehension of the Macedonians kept them quiet. But no sooner was this Prince dead, than, despising the tender age of Philip who succeeded, they began earnestly to seek for some pretence, upon which they might enter Peloponnesus with an army. For as this province had in former times been the usual scene of all their violence and rapine, so they were persuaded, that their strength in arms was far superior also to that of the Achæans. While they were revolving this project in their minds, chance itself conspired with their design, and supplied the following means to carry it into execution.

A certain young man named Dorimachus, full of the fire and eager spirit of his country, a native of Trichonion, and the son of that Nicostratus, who, in defiance of the laws of nations, attacked the Bœotians by surprize, when they were met together in their General Assembly, was about this time sent in the name of the Republick to Phigalea, a city of Peloponnesus, which stood upon the confines of Messenia, and was associated to the Ætolian government: to secure, as it was then pretended, the city and the neighbouring district.

But

But the true design of his commission was, that he should carefully attend to all that passed in Peloponnesus. During the time of his continuance in this city, being pressed by the importunity of some Pirates who resorted to him, and not able to supply them with the means of any lawful plunder, because the general peace was still subsisting, which Antigonus had established throughout all Greece, he at last permitted them to steal away the cattle of the Messenians, who were at that time the allies and friends of his own Republick. These men at first confined their robberies to the extreme borders of the province, and to the herds of cattle that were found in pasture there. But in a short time afterwards, their insolence was raised to so great a height, that they advanced far within the country, and forced their entrance into the houses likewise; making their attack by night, when the people were under no suspicion, or fear of danger. The Messenians, incensed by these proceedings, deputed some persons to Dorimachus, to demand redress. Dorimachus, who was by no means willing to condemn a practice, which not only enriched the men that were acting under his authority, but brought great advantage also to himself, who received a due proportion of all the booty that was taken, for some time paid no regard to these remonstrances. But when the outrages were still continued, and the deputations also became more frequent than before, he at last declared, that he would go in person to Messene, and there render publick justice to those that had any cause of complaint against the Ætolians. But when he arrived in that city, and the men that had been injured appeared before him, he treated some of them with the sharpest scorn; others with rough disdain and haughtiness; and some with threatenings and reproaches. And even in the very time of his continuance there, the same band of robbers, approaching close to the neighbourhood of the city, forced their way, with the help of ladders, into a house that was called the Farm

Farm of Chiron; killed all those that opposed their entrance; and having bound the rest in chains, carried them away, together with the cattle and the goods.

The Ephori of Messene, who before were very greatly incensed, not only by the robberies that had been committed in their country, but still more also by the presence of Dorimachus, being now persuaded that the grossest insult had been added to their wrongs, summoned him to appear before the magistrates. In this assembly, it was urged by Sciron, a man whose probity had placed him in high esteem among the citizens, and who was one of the Ephori of the present year, that Dorimachus should not be permitted to leave the city, till the plunder had been first restored, and the authors likewise of all the murders that had been committed delivered up to publick punishment. The whole assembly seemed ready to assent to the justice of this proposal: when Dorimachus, rising full of rage, declared, "that they were fools to think that this affront was offered to himself alone, and not rather to the whole Republick of the Ætolians; that what they had now attempted was a thing so monstrous, that they could not in reason but expect, that it must soon be followed by such heavy vengeance, as would be felt through all their country."

There was at this time in Messene a man of base condition, named Babyrtas, who was strongly attached to all the interests of Dorimachus, and who so perfectly resembled him both in voice and features, that if he had at any time been dressed in his cap and habit, he might easily have been mistaken for him; and this Dorimachus well knew. As he continued therefore to insult the assembly with the same haughty language, Sciron, being unable to restrain his passion, at last cried out, "Thinkest thou then, Babyrtas, that we shall pay the least regard either to thee, or thy insolent threatenings?" Dorimachus then was silent; and, being forced to yield to the necessity that pressed him, suffered the Messenians to
exact

exact full reparation for all their wrongs. But he returned back again to Ætolia, so deeply wounded by this abuse, that, without any other kind of cause or pretext, he immediately employed all his pains to excite the war, which afterwards was made against the Messenians.

Ariston was at this time Prætor of the Ætolians. But because he was unable, through some bodily infirmities, to support the fatigue of arms, and was also very nearly allied in blood to Dorimachus and Scopas, he left chiefly to the care of the last of these the whole administration of the government. Dorimachus would not venture to propose in publick to the Ætolians, that war should be declared against the Messenians. For as there was no pretext for it that was worthy to be mentioned, it was manifest, that all men would consider such proceeding, as the mere effect of his own resentment, on account of the affront which he had received from Sciron. Resolving therefore to pursue a different method, he endeavoured secretly to prevail on Scopas to approve of his design, and to concert measures with him for attacking the Messenians. He represented to him, that by reason of the tender age of Philip, who was now no more than seventeen years old, they were perfectly secure on the side of Macedon: that the Lacedæmonians, in their sentiments, were far from being inclined to favour the Messenians: and that, as the Eleans were bound by friendship and alliance to the Ætolians, their entrance into the Messenian territory would, on that account, be both safe and easy. He set also before his view, what was likely indeed to be of the greatest weight in the mind of an Ætolian, the rich and valuable booty, which they could scarcely fail to acquire from this invasion; since the country was wholly unprepared to receive an enemy, and was also the only part of Peloponnesus, that had remained unpillaged during the time of the Cleomenic War. He added likewise, that such an expedition would raise them high in the esteem and favour of

the Ætolians: that, if the Achæans should attempt to oppose their passage through their territory, they could have no reason to complain, if force should be repelled by force; and if on the other hand they remained inactive, there would then be nothing that could obstruct their progress: and in the last place, that even with regard to the Messenians, some pretence might be also found for taking arms against them; since they had long ago embraced such measures as were repugnant to the interests of the Ætolian government, when they engaged themselves by treaty to assist the Macedonians and Achæans.

These arguments and motives, with others of the same kind and purpose, made so deep and forcible an impression on the minds of Scopas and his friends, that, not waiting to consult the General Assembly of the Ætolians, not communicating their intentions to the Apocleti, or paying the least regard to any other of the forms, which their Government, upon such occasions, required to be observed, following only the dictates of an impetuous passion, and guided by their own private judgement, they resolved to make war at once upon the Messenians, the Epirots, Achæans, Acarnanians, and the Macedonians. They immediately sent out some pirates upon the sea, who forced a vessel, which they met near the island Cythera, and which belonged to the king of Macedon, to return back with them to Ætolia, and there exposed to sale the ship, the passengers, and all the crew. After this exploit, they equipped some Cephallenian barks, and, sailing along the shore of Epirus, pillaged all the coast. They attempted also to take Thyreum, a town of Acarnania, by surprise. And having at the same time sent some troops, through private roads, into Peloponnesus, they made themselves masters of a fortress called Clarium, which stood in the very middle of the Megalopolitan territory. In this place, they exposed their plunder to publick sale; designing also to use the fortress as their citadel, from whence they might make incursions.

incurfions into all the neighbouring country. But within fome days afterwards, it was attacked and stormed by Timoxenus the Prætor of the Achæans, affifted by Taurion the Macedonian General, who was left by Antigonus in Peloponnesus, to watch over the interests of the kings of Macedon in that country. For though Antigonus was poffeffed of Corinth, which was yielded to him in the beginning of the Cleomenic war, yet afterwards, when he had taken Orchomenus by storm, inftead of reftoring it again to the Achæans, he chofe to retain that town likewise as his own: being willing, as I fuppofe, not only to be the mafter of the entrance into Peloponnesus, but to be able alfo to controul the inland parts of the province, as occafion fhould require. With this defign, he had placed a garrifon in Orchomenus, and fupplied it with all the neceffary ftores for war.

Dorimachus and Scopas, having waited till the time was come, in which Timoxenus, the Prætor of the Achæans, was juft ready to refign his office, and when Aratus, who was appointed Prætor of the following year, had not yet entered upon the duties of his poft, affembled all the Ætolians together at Rhium; and having provided the tranfports that were neceffary, and equipped alfo the veffels of the Cephallenians, they embarked their forces, and paffing over into Peloponnesus, began their march towards Mefſenia, through the territory of the Patræans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans; pretending ftill, as they advanced, that they had no defign to commit hoftilities againft any of the Achæan States. But the troops, unable to reſtrain their natural appetite, plundered and deftroyed every thing within their reach. And when they arrived at laft near Phigalea, they from thence fell fuddenly, and without reſerve, upon the lands of the Mefſenians; unmoved by the alliance, which had fo long ſubſiſted between this people and their own Republick; and regardless alfo of all the common rights of men. For fo ſtrong was their rapaciousnefs,

cioufness, that every other confideration was forced to fall before it. They wasted the country therefore at their leifure, and found no refiftance: for the Meffenians dared not to appear in arms againft them.

C H A P. II.

IT was now the time, in which the Achæans ufually held a General Council of the States, according to their laws. As foon therefore as they were affembled together at Ægium, the Patræans and Pharæans recounted all the wrongs and violence, which they had received from the Ætolians as they paffed through their territories. There were prefent alfo fome deputies from the Meffenians, who implored the affiftance of the Republick, againft an enemy that had thus attacked them in contempt of the moft f acred treaties. The injuries, which the former had fufained, did not fail to excite a proper indignation in the whole affembly; as the fufferings of the latter raifed their pity. But that which appeared moft infolent and monftrous, was, that the Ætolians, in violation of the treaties which even then fubfifted between the two Republicks, had dared to take their paffage through Achaia with an army, without any leave obtained, without deigning even in any manner to excufe or juftify the action. Incensed therefore by all thefe circumftances, they refolved, that fome affiftance fhould be fent to the Meffenians: that the Prætor fhould affemble the Achæans together in arms: and that the meafures which fhould afterwards be directed, when the troops were thus affembled, fhould all be ratified and legal.

Timoxenus, whose Prætorship was not yet fully expired, and who had no great confidence in the Achæans, becaufe they had lately much neglected all their military exercife, refolved that he would bear no part in this intended expedition, and
refused

refused to draw together the troops. For from the time when Cleomenes received his last defeat, the people of Peloponnesus, exhausted by past miseries, and persuaded also, that the peace which they now enjoyed would be of long continuance, had by degrees lost all attention to the affairs of war. But Aratus, being enraged to see the daring insolence of the Ætolians, and sharpened likewise by the old resentment which he long had entertained against that people, entered upon the business with much greater warmth; resolved to arm the Achæans without delay; and was impatient to begin his march against the enemy. Having received therefore from Timoxenus the publick Seal, five days before his own administration was legally to begin, he sent orders to the cities, that those who were of proper age should immediately appear in arms at Megalopolis.

But before we proceed, it may perhaps be useful to inform the reader in few words, what was the peculiar character of this Magistrate: especially because there was a certain singularity in his disposition, which well deserves to be remarked.

In general then, Aratus was possessed of all those talents, which are required to make a consummate leader of a State. His eloquence was persuasive; his reasoning and discernment just; and his measures conducted always with due secrecy and caution. In the art of softening civil tumults and dissensions, in all the methods of gaining friends, and of fixing the affections of allies, he was excelled by none. Nor was he less to be admired, both on account of his dexterity in contriving snares and stratagems, to deceive and surprize the enemy, and for the boldness likewise and unwearied pains, with which he carried them into execution. His abilities indeed in this respect, though shewn in many other signal instances, cannot fail to appear in the most illustrious light, to those that will examine with attention, the manner in which he made himself master of Sicyon and Mantinea; the measures which he employed,

employed, to drive the Ætolians from Pellene; and above all, the secret management, by which he gained Acrocorinthus by surprize. But this same Aratus, when placed at the head of an army in the field, had neither capacity to form, nor courage to carry into execution, any projects: nor was he able to support the sight of danger. From hence it happened, that every part of Peloponnesus was filled with trophies, to record the battles that were gained against him: for at these times, he afforded always a most easy conquest to his enemies. Thus that variety, which is found from nature in the bodies of mankind, appears to be still greater in their minds. Nor is it in those things alone, which are different from each other, that men are seen to possess abilities very proper for the one, and ill-adapted to the other; but even in those of similar kind, the same man shall in some discover great wisdom and discernment, and be found to want the talents that are requisite for others; on some occasions shall be brave and enterprising, but cold and cowardly upon others. These things are not Paradoxes: but on the contrary, are known to happen every day; and are clearly understood by those, who view the affairs of men with due attention. There are some, who, in following the diversions of the field, encounter boldly with the fiercest beast; but basely lose all spirit, when they stand against an enemy in arms. Some again in battle, acquit themselves with vigour and dexterity, in the way of single combat: but when they are formed together into ranks with others, they are found to possess neither force nor courage. The shock of the Thessalian Cavalry, advancing in close order to the charge, is such as can scarcely be sustained. Yet these same troops, as often as they are forced to break their ranks, and engage man with man as place and circumstances may require, lose all their spirit and activity. The Ætolians are in both respects just contrary to these. The Cretans have at all times shewn no small dexterity and skill, both upon land
and

and sea, in forming ambuscades ; in pursuing all the little arts of robbery and pillage ; in concerting an attack by night ; and in a word, in all things that are conducted by surprize, and in separate parties. But when they are drawn up in battle, and constrained to face the enemy in a set engagement, their hearts shrink back at once at the sight of danger. The Achæans on the contrary, and the Macedonian troops, are serviceable only in regular and stated combats. But these examples are sufficient for my present purpose ; and may serve as a caution to the reader, not to call in question my veracity or judgement, if at any time I should be found hereafter, ascribing to the same men opposite qualities, even in things of a like nature and resemblance.

When the Achæans, in obedience to the decree that had been made, were all met in arms at Megalopolis, for from thence we began this last digression, the Messenian deputies appeared again before the Assembly, and conjured them to revenge the wrongs which they had sustained. They desired likewise, and with no small earnestness, that they might be received into the general alliance, and be enrolled among the other States. But the Chiefs of the Achæans refused to yield to this request : declaring, that they had no power to admit any new confederates, without the consent of Philip, and the rest of the allies. For that joint Confederacy was still subsisting, which had been solemnly made and ratified in the time of the Cleomeneic War, between the Achæans, and Epirots, the Phocæans, Macedonians, Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Thessalians. They engaged however to assist them with their forces, on condition that those Messenians, who then were present, would leave their sons as hostages in Lacedæmon ; that no peace might be concluded with the Ætolians, without the knowledge and consent of the Achæans. The Lacedæmonians, who had also raised some forces, as being included in the general confederacy, advanced as far as to the border

borders of the Megalopolitan territory, and there incamped; designing rather to expect the event, and observe the motions of the rest that were in arms, than to discharge their office as allies.

Aratus, having thus far accomplished his designs in favour of the Messenians, sent some messengers to the Ætolians, to inform them of the decree that had been made, and to command them instantly to leave the Messenian territory, and not to enter Achaia, on pain of being opposed as enemies. When Scopas and Dorimachus had received the message, and heard likewise that the Achæans were already met together in arms, they judged that, in the present circumstances, it would be far most prudent to yield obedience to this order. Having therefore dispatched some couriers to Cyllene, and to Ariston the Ætolian Prætor, requesting him to order all the transports that were then upon the coast to sail away in haste to the island Phlias, in two days afterwards they began their march, carrying with them all the booty, and directed their route towards Elea. For the Ætolians had been always careful to preserve a close alliance with the Eleans; that through their means they might obtain a secure and easy passage into Peloponnesus, as often as they were inclined to invade that province. Aratus, having remained two days at Megalopolis, and suffering himself too easily to be persuaded, that the Ætolians had in earnest resolved to leave the country, dismissed the Lacedæmonians, and the greater part of the Achæans also, to their respective cities: and keeping only three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, together with the forces that were under the command of Taurion, he began his march towards Patræ, with design to follow the Ætolians at a moderate distance, during their retreat. When Dorimachus was informed, that Aratus was marching close behind, and attending to his motions, being partly apprehensive, that the Achæans might fall upon him when he was just ready to embark, and

and take advantage of the disorder which would then be spread among the troops, and partly desirous also to obtain some fair occasion to excite a war, he gave orders that the plunder should immediately be conveyed under a sufficient guard to Rhium, as if he had designed to embark from thence; and himself at first followed with all the forces, to support the convoy. But after some time, he suddenly turned about, and directed his march back again towards Olympia. And being informed that Taurion and Aratus, with the forces just now mentioned, were at this time in the neighbourhood of Clitor, and judging also, that it would be scarcely possible to embark his troops at Rhium without the hazard of a battle, he resolved to meet and engage the Achæans, while their forces not only were so inconsiderable in their numbers, but were void of all apprehension likewise of any such attempt. For he had considered with himself, that in case he should be able to defeat and disperse these troops, he might then waste the country at his leisure, and embark in full security, before Aratus could take the measures that were necessary for assembling the Achæans again together: or on the other hand, if this Magistrate should be struck with terror, and refuse to venture on a battle, that his retreat would then be both safe and easy, and might be made also at the time which himself should judge to be the most convenient. With these sentiments, he continued his march forwards, and incamped near Methydrium, in the Megalopolitan territory.

The Achæan Generals, when they received the news that the Ætolians were advancing fast towards them, shewed in all their conduct so intire a want of skill and judgement, that no folly ever could exceed it. Leaving the neighbourhood of Clitor, they went and incamped near Caphyæ. And when the Ætolians, marching from Methydrium, had passed just beyond Orchomenus, they led out their forces, and

ranged them in order of battle in the plain of Caphyæ, having in their front the river which ran through the plain. Before the river, there were many trenches also of considerable depth, and not easy to be passed. The Ætolians, when they had viewed these obstacles which lay between them and the enemy, and saw likewise that the Achæans shewed no small alacrity and impatience to engage, not daring to attack them in their post, as they had at first designed, marched away in close order towards the hills; designing to retreat to Oligyrtus; and thinking it sufficient, if they could now be able to retire, without being forced to risk a battle. The foremost of their troops were already arrived upon the eminencies, and the Cavalry also, which closed the rear of all the army as they marched through the plain, had almost gained the hill called Propus, when Aratus sent away his Cavalry and light-armed forces under the conduct of Epistrotus, with orders, that they should attack the rear, and endeavour to draw the enemy into action. But if this General had resolved to venture on a battle, instead of falling upon the rear of the Ætolians, when the whole army had already passed the plain, he rather should have charged the foremost of their troops, as soon as they began to enter it. For then, as the action would have passed upon a flat and level ground, the Ætolians must have laboured under many difficulties, on account both of their arms, and of the disposition also of their troops: while the Achæans, on the contrary, who were armed, and ranged in battle, after a different manner, might have exerted all the force that was peculiar to them, and have fought with manifest advantage. But now, having first neglected both the place and time of action that were most suitable and proper for themselves, they resolved to begin the fight, when both were favourable to the enemy. The issue therefore of the battle was such as might be well expected to result from so absurd a conduct. As soon as the light-armed forces had

had begun to skirmish with the rear, the Ætolian Cavalry, keeping still their ranks, pushed on their way towards the hill that was before them, in order to join their Infantry. Aratus not discerning the true intention of this sudden haste, nor considering what it was that was likely now to follow, but being persuaded that these troops already fled before him, sent away some of his heavy Infantry, to support the light-armed forces: and then turning all the army upon one of the Wings, he advanced with the greatest speed towards the enemy. The Ætolian Cavalry, having gained the extremity of the plain, took their post close upon the foot of the hills, and drew together the Infantry on both sides round them; recalling also those that were upon their march, who ran back with great alacrity to their assistance. And when their numbers were sufficient for the combat, they advanced with fury, and in the closest order, against the foremost ranks of the Achæan Cavalry, and light-armed troops. The action was for some time warm and obstinate. But as the Ætolians were superior in their numbers, and had begun the attack from higher ground, the Achæans were at last compelled to fly. The heavy forces, that had been sent to support these troops, and who now arrived, in the same loose and broken order in which they had marched, being in part unable to discern the truth of what had happened, and partly because they were pressed by those that were retreating, were themselves also forced to turn their backs, and accompany the others in their flight. And from hence it happened, that though five hundred only of the Achæans were at first defeated in the action, yet those that now fled together were above two thousand. The Ætolians seized the advantage, and pursued the enemy with the greatest ardour, and with loud shouts and cries. The Achæans, imagining that the main body of their Infantry still kept the advantageous ground in which they had left them in

the beginning of the action, at first retired towards that place; so that their flight for some time appeared to be no dishonourable means of safety. But when they saw that these troops also, having left their post, were advancing fast towards them, but in a long and broken train; one part immediately fled different ways, towards the neighbouring cities; while the rest, disordered and confused, fell against this very Infantry as they approached, and spread such consternation among all the troops, that the rout then became complete, without any efforts of the enemy. The cities, as we have said, afforded to many of them a secure retreat; especially Orchomenus and Caphyæ, which were near. Without this advantage, the whole army would have been in the utmost danger of being all shamefully destroyed upon the place.

Such was the end of the battle that was fought near Caphyæ. The Megalopolitans, who had called together all their forces by sound of trumpet, as soon as they heard that the Ætolians were incamped near Methydrium, arrived in the plain, on the very day following the action. But instead of finding their friends alive, and joining their forces with them against the enemy, they had now nothing left, but to pay the last solemn duties to their bodies. Having collected together therefore the remains of these unhappy men, they buried them in the plain, with all due honours.

The Ætolians, when they had thus beyond all expectation gained the victory by their Cavalry alone and light-armed forces, continued their route through the very middle of Peloponnesus. And having, in their march, attempted to take by storm the city of Pellene, and plundered likewise all the Sicyonian territory, they at last retired along the way of the Isthmus.

Such were the transactions, which afforded both the cause and the pretext also of that which was called the Social War :
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and the beginning of it may be fixed from that Decree, which was made soon afterwards at Corinth, upon the motion and advice of Philip, in a general assembly of the Allies.

C H A P. III.

WHEN the Achæans, within a short time after the late action, were met together to hold the usual Council of the States, all the people in general, and every one apart, seemed greatly incensed against Aratus; whose conduct was considered as the only cause of the misfortune that had happened to them. Those therefore, who led the faction that opposed the interests of this Prætor, seized the occasion, to inflame the multitude still more against him; and charged him with such heads of accusation, as were indeed too clear to be refuted. For first, it was a manifest offence, that, before his own administration was begun, and while the supreme command was vested in another, he had forwardly engaged in such kind of enterprizes, in which, as himself well knew, he had before so often failed. A second, and a greater fault was, that he had sent the Achæans back again to their respective cities, while the Ætolians still remained in the very heart of Peloponnesus: though it was clear from every thing that had been transacted, that Dorimachus and Scopas had resolved to employ their utmost power, to create disorders, and excite a war. They reproached him likewise, with having ventured on a battle, when he was pressed by no necessity, and with forces that were so inconsiderable in their numbers: when on the contrary, he might have retired with safety to the neighbouring cities; and, when he had first drawn again together the troops that were dismissed, might have marched to engage the enemy, if it should then have been judged expedient. In the last place, it was urged against him, as a fault which merited not the least indulgence, that when he had resolved

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to risk a general battle, he shewed so intire a want of skill and judgement in the conduct of it: and that, instead of taking advantage of the plain, and making a proper use of his heavy Infantry, he on the contrary began the combat at the very foot of the hills, and with his light-armed forces only; though these were circumstances, which of all others were the most commodious for the enemy, and the best adapted to their arms and disposition.

But notwithstanding all the weight and importance of the charge, when Aratus stood up to speak, and reminded the people of the many former services, which his country had received from his administration; when he began to answer to the facts of which he was accused; affirming, that he was not the cause of the defeat; and conjuring them to excuse any omissions or mistakes, which had perhaps escaped him during the time of the action; and in general to survey things, not with sharpness and severity, but with candour and indulgence; the whole Assembly made at once a generous effort in his favour, and, by a sudden change of sentiments, turned all their indignation upon the leaders of the faction that had formed the charge against him, and submitted to his sole advice and conduct the measures that were afterwards to be pursued.

These things all belong to the hundred-thirty-ninth Olympiad. We now go on to the transactions of that which followed.

In this Assembly, the Achæans resolved, that some deputies should be sent without delay to the Epirots, Bœotians, Phocæans, Acarnanians, and to Philip: to inform them of the manner in which the Ætolians had twice entered Achaia with an army, in direct breach of treaties; to demand the succours, which, by the terms of the alliance, they were severally engaged to furnish; and to desire, that the Messenians also might be admitted into the Confederacy. They ordered likewise,

wise, that the Prætor should draw together an army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and march to the assistance of the Messenians, in case that their country should be again invaded: and that he should also regulate, with the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, the number of the troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, which they should severally be obliged to furnish, for the common service. With such firmness did the Achæans support their loss: and resolved on no account to abandon the Messenians, or relinquish their first design. The Deputies made haste to discharge their commission to the several States. The Prætor levied troops among the Achæans, agreeably to the Decree. And the Lacedæmonians and Messenians consented each to raise two thousand and five hundred Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse. Thus the whole army was to consist of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse.

The Ætolians on the other hand, as soon as they were assembled in their General Council, formed the project of entering into a treaty of peace with the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, and the rest of the allies; designing, by this wicked and pernicious measure, to separate them from the Achæans. At the same time they also made the following Decree. "That they would remain in peace with the Achæans, on condition that they would depart from their alliance with the Messenians; and, if this should be refused, that they would immediately declare war against them." A proceeding surely the most absurd, that can be well conceived. To be at the same time the allies both of the Messenians and Achæans; and yet to threaten the Achæans with a war, in case that they received the Messenians into their alliance, and on the other hand, to engage that they would remain in friendship with them, if they would regard that people as their enemies. But from hence it happened, that, by thus forming projects that were in the highest degree both senseless and impracticable,

impracticable, they left to their injustice not the least colour or support from reason.

As soon as the Epirots and king Philip had received the deputation from the Achæans, they readily consented, that the Messenians should be admitted into the Confederacy. But with regard to the Ætolians, though at first indeed they were filled with some resentment on account of the late transactions, yet, because such proceedings were perfectly consistent with the manners and habitual practice of this people, as their surprise from what had happened was of short continuance, so their indignation also soon subsided, and they resolved, that they would still remain in peace. So much more easily are men disposed to pardon a long and continued course of wickedness and violence, than any new and unexpected instance of injustice. For it was now grown to be the common custom of the Ætolians, to pillage continually all the parts of Greece, and to make war upon every State, without any previous declaration of it. Nor would they at any time submit to offer the least excuse, or vindication of their conduct: but even laughed at those, who demanded from them any reasonable account, either of their past transactions, or of their future projects and designs. The Lacedæmonians, who so lately had received their liberty from the generous efforts of the Achæans and Antigonus, and who ought to have been restrained by that consideration, from pursuing any measures that were repugnant to the interests of the Macedonians and of Philip, sent now in private to the Ætolians, and concluded with them a secret treaty of friendship and alliance.

While the Achæans were employed in drawing together their forces, and in regulating all things that related to the succours, which the Lacedæmonians and Messenians had engaged to furnish; Scerdilaidas and Demetrius of Pharos, departing from Illyria with a fleet of ninety frigates, sailed beyond Lissus, in direct violation of the treaty which had been

been concluded with the Romans. They first steered their course together to Pylus, and endeavoured to take the city by storm, but were repulsed in the attempt. Demetrius then took with him fifty of the vessels; and sailing round the Cyclade islands, he plundered some of them, and exacted large sums of money from the rest: while Scerdilaidas, with the forty frigates that were left, directing his course back again towards Illyria, cast anchor at Naupactus; trusting to the friendship of Amynas, king of the Athamanians, to whom he was allied in blood. And having through the intervention of Agelaus, concluded a treaty also with the Ætolians, he engaged to join his forces with them against the Achæans, on condition that he should receive an equal share of all the booty. Dorimachus, Scopas, and Agelaus, consented to the terms that were proposed: and having about the same time conceived some hopes of gaining the city of Cynætha by surprize, they drew together all the Ætolian forces, and being joined also by the Illyrians, began their march towards Achaia.

In the mean time Ariston, the Prætor of the Ætolians, remained quiet at home; and, as if he had been ignorant of all that was transacted, declared aloud, that they had no design to make war against the Achæans, but that the peace still subsisted between the two Republicks; acting in this respect a most weak and childish part. For what can be more vain or senseless, than to hope to conceal the truth under the disguise of words, when it is shewn in the fullest light by the evidence of facts?

Dorimachus, passing through the Achæan territory, appeared suddenly before Cynætha. This city, which was situated in Arcadia, had for a long time been distracted by intestine tumults; which were carried to so great excess, that many of the citizens lost their lives in those disorders, and many were driven into banishment. They seized in turn upon

the fortunes of each other, and made new divisions of their lands. At last, the faction that had embraced the interests of the Achæans, having prevailed against the rest of the inhabitants, kept intire possession of the city, and received some troops for their defence, together with a Governour also, from Achaia. While things were in this condition, and not long before the arrival of the Ætolians, those that had been forced to fly, sent a deputation to the rest who remained masters of the city, requesting them to consent to terms of reconciliation with them, and to suffer them to return. The citizens, moved by their intreaties, sent some deputies to the Achæan States, that the agreement might be made with the knowledge and consent of that Republick. The Achæans readily approved of the design: being persuaded that they should thus be able to retain both parties in their interests, for the time to come. For as the inhabitants, that were masters of the city, were already in all points devoted to them, so those likewise, who were now to be restored, could scarcely fail of being always sensible, that they were indebted to the Achæans for their safety and return. The Cynætheans therefore dismissed the garrison and governour from the city; and brought back the exiles, who were in number about three hundred: having first exacted such assurances of their fidelity, as are esteemed the strongest and most sacred among mankind. But no sooner were these men admitted, than, without even waiting till some pretext or occasion should arise, from whence they might renew the past contentions, they at once engaged in the black design, of betraying their benefactors and their country. I am even inclined to think, that in the very moment when they touched the sacred victims, and made a mutual exchange of oaths and solemn promises, they were then revolving in their minds that impious project, by which they had resolved so soon to insult the Gods, and abuse the confidence of their fellow-citizens. For scarcely had they regained

gained their former state, and were again associated in the government, when they concerted measures with the Ætolians, for delivering the place into their hands: nor scrupled to involve in one common ruin, both those to whom themselves were just before indebted for their safety, and that very city also, in whose lap they had been nourished. This treason was contrived, and carried into execution, in the following manner.

Among the exiles, there were some that were of the number of those magistrates, who were called Polemarchs: whose office it was, to shut the gates of the city; to keep the keys in their own custody, till they were again set open; and to guard the entrance also of the gates by day. The Ætolians had prepared their ladders, and stood in readiness, to begin the attack. And when those Polemarchs, having killed all those that were stationed with them upon the guard, had thrown the gate open to receive them, one part entered that way into the city, while the rest, with the assistance of their ladders, gained possession of the walls. The inhabitants were all seized with consternation, and knew not to what measures they should have recourse. For as it was not possible, to fix themselves in a body to the gate, because the danger threatened equally from the walls; so neither were they able, on the other hand, to employ their efforts against those that were entering along the walls, while the rest advanced with no less ardour through the gate. The Ætolians therefore were in a short time masters of the place. But amidst all the violence and disorder that ensued, they performed one act of great and exemplary justice. For the traitors, by whose assistance they had been received into the city, were the first marked out for slaughter, and their goods first pillaged. The rest of the inhabitants were forced afterwards to undergo the same cruel treatment. The Ætolians then spread themselves through

all the houses, and penetrated even to the foundations of them in search of plunder; destroying also many of the citizens in torture, whom they suspected to have concealed any portion of their wealth or valuable goods.

Having thus fully satiated all their cruelty, they left a garrison in the place, and directed their march towards Luffi. And when they arrived at the temple of Diana, which stood between Clitor and Cynætha, and was esteemed inviolable among the Greeks, they began to force away the sacred cattle, and to pillage every thing that was within their reach. But the Luffiates, having wisely offered to them a part of the sacred furniture, restrained their impious purpose, and engaged them to desist from any greater violence. They continued their route therefore, and came and incamped before Clitor. In the mean while Aratus, having sent to Philip to solicit some assistance, made haste to draw together all the Achæan forces; and demanded also from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, the troops which they had severally engaged to furnish.

The Ætolians, when they had first in vain endeavoured to prevail on the Clitorians to join their party, and renounce the alliance of the Achæans, made their approaches against the town, and attempted to scale the walls. But the inhabitants maintained their ground with so much bravery and firmness, that they soon were forced to abandon the design, and retreated back again towards Cynætha; plundering the country as they went, and carrying with them also the sacred cattle, which they before had left untouched. They at first designed to leave Cynætha to the Eleans: and when this people refused the offer, they resolved that they would keep it in their own possession, and appointed Euripides to be the Governour. But in a short time afterwards, being alarmed by the report, that some troops were just ready to arrive from Macedon, they set
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fire to the city, and then retired, and directed their march towards Rhium; designing to embark their forces there, and to return back again to Ætolia.

The Macedonian General Taurion, being informed of all the motions of the Ætolians, and of the outrages which they had committed at Cynætha, and hearing also that Demetrius of Pharos had now brought back his fleet from the Cyclade islands to the port of Cenchreæ, sent some messengers to that Prince; inviting him to join the Achæans; to transport his vessels across the Isthmus; and to fall upon the Ætolians in their return. Demetrius, who had gained a very rich booty in his expedition, though he was forced at last to fly with some disgrace before the Rhodians who had sent out a fleet against him, consented readily to this proposal, on condition that Taurion should defray the charge of transporting the vessels over. But when he had passed the Isthmus, he found that the Ætolians had completed their return two days before. Having pillaged therefore some few places, that stood most exposed along their coast, he then steered his course back to Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians perfidiously withheld the succours, which by the stated regulation they were bound to furnish: and sent only some inconsiderable troops of Horse, with a small body of Infantry, that thus they might appear not wholly to have slighted their engagements. Aratus also, with the Achæan forces, displayed rather, upon this occasion, the caution of a Politician, than the courage of a General. For so intirely was his mind possessed with the remembrance of the late defeat, that he remained still quiet, and attempted nothing. Scopas therefore and Dorimachus accomplished at their leisure all that they had designed; and returned also back again with safety: though their retreat was made through passes so strait and difficult, that a trumpet only might have been sufficient, to gain a victory against them.

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With regard to the inhabitants of Cynætha, whose misfortunes we have just now mentioned, it is certain, that no people ever were esteemed so justly to deserve that cruel treatment to which they were exposed. And since the Arcadians in general have been always celebrated for their virtue throughout all Greece; and have obtained the highest fame, as well by their humane and hospitable disposition, as from their piety also towards the Gods, and their veneration of all things sacred; it may perhaps be useful to inquire, from whence it could arise, that the people of this single city, though confessed to be Arcadians, should on the contrary be noted for the savage roughness of their lives and manners, and distinguished by their wickedness and cruelty above all the Greeks. In my judgement then, this difference has happened from no other cause, than that the Cynætheans were the first and only people among the Arcadians, who threw away that Institution, which their ancestors had established with the greatest wisdom, and with a nice regard to the natural genius, and peculiar disposition of the people of the country; I mean, the discipline and exercise of Musick: of that genuine and perfect Musick, which is useful indeed in every State, but absolutely necessary to the people of Arcadia. For we ought by no means to adopt the sentiment that is thrown out by Ephorus in the preface to his History, and which indeed is very unworthy of that Writer; "that Musick was invented, to deceive and delude mankind." Nor can it be supposed, that the Lacedæmonians, and the ancient Cretans, were not influenced by some good reason, when, in the place of trumpets, they introduced the sound of flutes, and harmony of verse, to animate their soldiers in the time of battle: or that the first Arcadians acted without strong necessity, who, though their lives and manners, in all other points, were rigid and austere, incorporated this Art into the very essence of their government; and obliged not their children only, but
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the young men likewise, till they had gained the age of thirty years, to persist in the constant study and practice of it. For all men know, that Arcadia is almost the only country, in which the children, even from their most tender age, are taught to sing in measure the songs and hymns, that are composed in honour of their Gods and Heroes: and that afterwards, when they have learned the musick of Timotheus and Philoxenus, they assemble once in every year in the publick theatres, at the Feast of Bacchus; and there dance with emulation, to the sound of flutes; and celebrate, according to their proper age, the children those that are called the Puerile, and the young men, the Manly Games. And even in their private feasts and meetings, they are never known to employ any hired bands of Musick for their entertainment; but each man is himself obliged to sing in turn. For though they may, without shame or censure, disown all knowledge of every other science, they dare not on the one hand dissemble or deny, that they are skilled in Musick, since the laws require, that every one should be instructed in it; nor can they, on the other hand, refuse to give some proofs of their skill when asked, because such refusal would be esteemed dishonourable. They are taught also to perform in order all the military steps and motions, to the sound of instruments: and this is likewise practised every year in the theatres, at the publick charge, and in sight of all the citizens.

Now to me it is clearly evident, that the ancients by no means introduced these customs, to be the instruments of luxury and idle pleasure: but because they had considered with attention, both the painful and laborious course of life, to which the Arcadians were accustomed; and the natural austerity also of their manners, derived to them from that cold and heavy air, which covered the greatest part of all their province. For men will be always found to be in some degree assimilated to the climate, in which they live: nor can
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it be ascribed to any other cause, that in the several nations of the world, distinct and separated from each other, we behold so wide a difference, in complexion, features, manners, customs. The Arcadians therefore, in order to smooth and soften that disposition, which was by nature so rough and stubborn, besides the customs above described, appointed frequent festivals and sacrifices, which both sexes were required to celebrate together; the men with women, and the boys with virgins: and in general established every institution, that could serve to render their rugged minds more gentle and compliant, and tame the fierceness of their manners. But the people of Cynætha, having slighted all these arts, though both their air and situation, the most inclement and unfavourable of any in Arcadia, made some such remedy more requisite to them than to the rest, were afterwards engaged continually in intestine tumults and contentions; till they became at last so fierce and savage, that, among all the cities of Greece, there was none in which so many and so great enormities were ever known to be committed. To how deplorable a state this conduct had at last reduced them, and how much their manners were detested by the Arcadians, may be fully understood from that which happened to them, when they sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, after the time of a dreadful slaughter which had been made among them. For in every city of Arcadia, through which their deputies were obliged to pass, they were commanded by the publick Crier, instantly to be gone. The Mantineans also expressed even still more strongly their abhorrence of them. For as soon as they were departed, they made a solemn purification of the place; and carried victims in procession round the city, and through all their territory.

This then may be sufficient, to exempt the general customs of Arcadia from all censure; and at the same time to remind the people of that province, that Musick was at first established
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in their government, not for the sake of vain pleasure and amusement, but for such solid purposes, as should engage them never to desert the practice of it. The Cynætheans also may perhaps draw some advantage from these reflections; and, if the Deity should hereafter bless them with better sentiments, may turn their minds towards such discipline, as may soften and improve their manners, and especially to Musick: by which means alone, they can ever hope to be divested of that brutal fierceness, by which they have been so long distinguished. But we shall here leave this people: and return again to the place, from whence we began our digression.

The Ætolians, after those exploits in Peloponnesus which have been described, were just now returned again in safety to their country, when Philip arrived at Corinth with an army, to assist the Achæans. Perceiving that the enemy was gone, he dispatched his couriers to all the cities of the alliance, desiring that some persons might be sent to Corinth, to deliberate with him on the measures that were proper to be taken for the common service; and himself in the mean while began his march towards Tegea; having received notice, that the people of Lacedæmon were distracted by intestine tumults, and that much slaughter had been committed in the city. For the Lacedæmonians, who had been long accustomed to submit to kingly government, and to pay an unrestrained obedience to their Chiefs, having now lately gained their liberty by the favour of Antigonus, and finding no monarch at their head, were broken into various factions, and all claimed alike an equal share in the administration of the State. Among the Ephori, there were two, who made at first no open declaration of their sentiments; and three, that entered without reserve into all the interests of the Ætolians; imagining, that Philip, on account of his tender age, would be yet unable to controul the affairs of Peloponnesus. But when these last perceived, that the Ætolians had left the country, much

sooner than their hopes had promised ; and that Philip also was arrived from Macedon, before they had expected his approach, they began to apprehend, that Adimantus, one of the former two, to whom they had opened their intentions, and in vain endeavoured to draw him to their party, would not fail to carry to the king a full discovery of all that had been transacted. Having therefore secretly engaged some young men into their design, they published a decree, that all who were of sufficient age, should meet in arms at the Temple of Minerva, to defend the city against the Macedonians. An order so strange and unexpected soon drew the people together in crouds towards the temple. Adimantus, being deeply grieved at these proceedings, hastened to gain the head of all the assembly, and began to address the people in the following manner. " When the *Ætolians*, said he, our declared and open enemies, had drawn their forces to the very borders of our country, it was then the time to publish these Decrees, and to assemble the Youth in arms : and not when the Macedonians, our allies and friends, to whom we owe our liberties and safety, are advancing with their king towards us." But as he was proceeding in this harangue, some of the young men who had been appointed to the task, fell upon him with their swords. They then killed also Sthenelaus, Alcamenes, Thyestes, Bionidas, with many others of the citizens. But Polyphontes, and some few besides, having in time foreseen the danger, escaped safe to Philip.

After this transaction, the Ephori, who were now sole masters of the government, sent some deputies to Philip, to accuse the citizens that were slain, as having been themselves the authors of the tumult: to request the king, not to advance any nearer to them, till the commotion that remained from the late sedition had first subsided : and in the last place to assure him, that, with regard to the Macedonians, they were ready in all points to perform their duty, as justice or as friendship

ship should require. The deputies, having met the king near the mountain called Parthenius, discharged their commission to him, agreeably to these instructions. When they had ended, Philip ordered them to return immediately back to Sparta, and acquaint the Ephori, that he designed to continue his march forwards, and to incamp near Tegea; and that they should send to him to that place, without delay, some persons of sufficient weight, to deliberate with him on the measures that were proper to be pursued in this conjuncture. The Ephori, as soon as they had received these orders, deputed to the king ten citizens, of whom Omias was the chief: who when they arrived at Tegea, and were admitted into the royal Council, began also with accusing Adimantus and his friends, as having been the authors of the late disorders. They promised, that they would observe most faithfully the terms of the alliance: and that among all the States, that seemed most closely attached by friendship to the King, the Lacedæmonians should yield to none in the sincerity and zeal, with which they would at all times strive to advance his interests. After these assurances, with others of the same kind and purpose, the deputies retired.

The members of the Council were divided in their sentiments. For some, who were well acquainted with the secret of the late transactions, and who knew that Adimantus and the rest had lost their lives, on account only of their attachment to the Macedonians, and that the Lacedæmonians already had resolved to join the Ætolians, advised the King to have recourse to some exemplary vengeance; and in a word, to punish this people with the same severity, as that with which Alexander punished the inhabitants of Thebes, soon after he had taken possession of his kingdom. Others, who were of greater age, declared that such treatment would too far exceed the offence. They thought however, that it was highly reasonable, that the men, who had been the cause of the late

disorders, should be forced to bear some censure: that they should be divested of their offices: and the government be left to those, who were known to be well disposed towards the King.

When they had all delivered their opinion, the King himself replied in the following manner; if indeed we can at all suppose, that such an answer was his own. For it is scarcely credible, that a Youth of seventeen years should be able to decide with such true judgement, in matters of so great importance. But when we are writing history, we are forced always to ascribe every final decision that is made in such debates, to those who are possessed of the supreme administration and command: leaving it however to the reader to suppose, that the reasons upon which such decisions are supported, were at first suggested by the persons that are near the Prince; and especially by those, who are masters of his private confidence. In the present instance, it seems most probable, that Aratus furnished the opinion, which was now delivered by the King.

He said then, "that in the case of those disorders, and acts of violence, that were at any time committed by the Allies among themselves, his duty might perhaps require him so far to interpose, as to acquaint them with his sentiments, and endeavour to compose their breaches, and correct all that was amiss, by exhortations or by letters: but that such offences only, as were crimes against the general Confederacy, required a general and a publick punishment; and that too from all the allies in common. That as the Lacedæmonians had been guilty of no open violation of the laws of this confederacy, but on the contrary had engaged by the most solemn promises, that they would faithfully perform the conditions of it, it seemed to be by no means just or reasonable, that any kind of severity should be shewn towards them. He added likewise, that it could scarcely fail to draw upon himself the
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censure of mankind, if now, from so slight a cause, he should resolve to act with rigour against this people, whom his Father not long before had treated with the utmost gentleness, even after he had conquered them as enemies."

As soon then as it was decided, that no farther inquiry should be made concerning the late transactions, the King sent Petraeus, one of his friends, together with Omias, to Lacedæmon: to exhort the people still to adhere to the interests of the Macedonians, and to confirm anew the alliance, by a mutual exchange of oaths. He then decamped, and returned again to Corinth: having shewn, in this generous treatment of the Lacedæmonians, such a specimen of his mind and inclinations, as filled the Allies with the fairest hopes.

C H A P. IV.

THE King, being now met at Corinth by the deputies from the confederate States, held a general Council, to deliberate on the measures that were proper to be taken against the Ætolians. The Bœotians accused them, of having plundered the temple of Itonian Minerva, during the time of peace. The Phocæans, that they had armed some forces, with design to possess themselves of Ambryfus and Daulis. The Epirots, that they had wasted all their province. And the Acarnanians, that they had attempted to take Thyreum by surprize. The Achæans also related at large, in what manner they had gained possession of Clarium, in the Megalopolitan territory: wasted all the lands of the Patræans and Pharæans: sacked the city of Cynætha: pillaged the Temple of Diana at Lussi: laid siege to Clitor: made an attack by sea upon Pylus: and by land likewise, being assisted by the Illyrians, had attempted to storm the city of Megalopolis, when

when it was just now beginning to be filled again with people, in order to reduce it to it's late desolate state.

When the Council had heard all these complaints, it was with one voice agreed, that war should be declared against the Ætolians. They made therefore a Decree, in which, having first recited the several accusations just now mentioned, they declared; "that they would immediately employ all their force, in favour of the allies, to recover every city, and every province, which the Ætolians had usurped, from the time of the death of Demetrius the father of Philip. That those, who had been compelled by the necessity of times and circumstances to associate themselves with the Ætolian Republick, should be reinstated in their own proper government; should possess their towns and territories, free from garrisons, and discharged from tribute; should enjoy their liberty intire; and be governed by the customs of their ancestors. And in the last place, that the power and laws of the Amphictyons should be again restored; together with the Temple likewise, and all the sacred jurisdiction, of which the Ætolians had deprived them." This Decree was made in the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad; and from hence began the Social War. A war, founded altogether upon justice: and such as was indeed the fair and necessary consequence of the past disorders.

The Council then sent some deputies to all the Allies: that the Decree might be confirmed in every State, in a general assembly of the people, and war be declared against the Ætolians, in every separate province. At the same time Philip informed the Ætolians also by a letter, that, if there was any thing that could be urged in answer to the accusations with which they had been charged, they might now appear before the Council, and enter upon their defence: but that it was the very height of folly, to persuade themselves, that because
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they had robbed and pillaged all the parts of Greece, before hostilities had been declared by any Decree of their Republick, the States must therefore quietly submit to the injustice; or, in case that they prepared to punish it, be considered as the authors of the war.

The Chiefs of the Ætolians, having received the letter, appointed at first a certain day, upon which they promised that they would meet the king at Rhium; imagining, that Philip would refuse to come. But when they heard that he was arrived, they sent a courier to acquaint him, that, as the General Council of the Ætolians was not yet assembled, they had no power of themselves to enter into any deliberations, in things which concerned the whole Republick.

The Achæans, as soon as they were met together at Ægium, at the usual time of holding their Assemblies, with one voice confirmed the Decree, and made publick proclamation of war against the Ætolians. The King, who was present in the Council, made a long discourse; which the Achæans received with the greatest marks of favour, and renewed with him all the obligations of fidelity and friendship, which they had made in former times to any of his ancestors.

About this time also, the Ætolians, being assembled to elect their magistrates, made choice of Scopas to be Prætor; the very man, who was the cause of all the late disorders. What shall we say of this proceeding? Not to declare war by any publick Decree, and yet to assemble the people together in arms, to invade and pillage every neighbouring State; and instead of punishing the authors of this violence, to receive them with rewards and honours, and to advance them to the highest magistracies: such a conduct must surely be considered as a most consummate piece of wickedness; and such as cannot be expressed in any softer language. The following examples may serve more clearly to explain the nature of this baseness. When Phœbidas had by treachery seized the citadel
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of Thebes that was called Cadmea, the Lacedæmonians punished indeed the author of that dishonourable action, but suffered the garrison still to keep possession of the citadel; and pretended, that they had made full satisfaction for the injustice, by chastising him who had contrived the perfidy: whereas it was clear to all, that the Thebans could be neither safe nor free, unless the garrison also was withdrawn. The same people likewise, after the general peace had been concluded by Antalcidas, declared by the voice of the publick crier, that they restored to liberty all the States of Greece, and left them to be governed by their own proper laws: when at the same time they refused to remove the magistrates, who presided, under their appointment, in every city. And afterwards, when they had subdued the Mantineans, their allies and friends, and forced them to dissolve their government, they pretended, that they had done them no kind of wrong; since they had only taken them from one single city, to settle them in many. But surely it is no less a proof of folly, than of wickedness, for any people to conceive, that, because themselves have wilfully shut their eyes, all mankind besides must be therefore blind. And indeed this conduct proved the source of such great calamities, both to the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, that those who are wise will on no account be ever led to imitate it, either in their private affairs, or in the publick government of States.

The King, when he had regulated all things with the Achæans, retired back again to Macedon with his army, and began to make the necessary preparations for the war. The Decree, that had now been made, had raised him high in the esteem, not only of the Allies, but of all the people of Greece, who were filled with the noblest expectations, from the proofs which he had already shewn of gentleness and moderation, and of such true greatness as was worthy of a King.

These things were all transacted at the time in which Annibal,

nibal, having subdued the other parts of Spain that were beyond the Iberus, was preparing to besiege Saguntum. Now, if the motions and first progress of this General had in any manner been connected with the affairs of Greece, we should have joined and interwoven the history of the latter, in it's due place and order, with the relation which we gave of the former in the preceding Book. But because the wars that now broke out in Italy, in Greece, and Asia, had each a beginning distinct and peculiar to themselves, though they all were terminated in one common end, it seemed most proper, that we should give also a distinct and separate account of each, till we arrived at the time in which they were blended first together, and began to move in one direction towards the same single point. By this method, we shall be able to explain with greater clearness, not only the commencements of these wars, but all the circumstances also that belonged to their first connection; the time and manner of which, together with the causes of it, have already been in part remarked; and shall afterwards unite them all in one common History. This connection first was made, in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, soon after the conclusion of the Social War. From the end of this war therefore, we shall include, as we have said, in one general History, all the events that followed; intermixing them together in their proper place and order. But before that period, we shall treat of every one distinctly: taking care however still to remind the reader, which among those transactions; that are described in the preceding Book, were coincident with the events which we are now going to relate. For thus the whole narration will be rendered easy and intelligible: and the importance also of the subjects will appear with more advantage, and will strike the mind with a greater force.

The King, during the time of winter, which he passed in Macedon, levied troops with the greatest diligence; and

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made also the preparations that were necessary, to secure his kingdom against the attempts of those barbarians, who lived upon the borders of it. He afterwards went to hold a private conference with Scerdilaidas. And having trusted himself boldly in his hands, and pressed him to join in the alliance, and become a confederate in the war, he prevailed without much difficulty: partly by engaging to assist him in reducing certain places in Illyria; and partly also by enumerating all those subjects of complaint, which it was no hard task to find against the Ætolians. For the wrongs and injuries, that are committed by publick States, differ in no respect from those that are done by private men, except only in their number and importance. It may also be remarked, that societies of thieves and robbers are usually broken by no other means, than because the persons, of whom they are composed, fail to render justice to each other, and are false to their own mutual engagements. And this it was that happened now to the Ætolians. They had promised to allot to Scerdilaidas a certain part of all the plunder, if he would join his forces with them, to invade Achaia. But when this was done, and they had sacked the city of Cynætha, and carried away great numbers both of slaves and cattle, they excluded him even from the smallest share, in the division of the booty. As his mind therefore was already filled with a sense of this injustice, no sooner had Philip slightly mentioned the wrongs which he had received, than he entered readily into all that was proposed, and consented to join in the confederacy, upon these conditions: that twenty Talents should be paid to him every year; and that on his part, he should arm thirty frigates, and carry on the war by sea against the Ætolians.

While the King was thus employed, the Deputies, that were sent to all the allies, came first to Acarnania, and discharged their commission there. The Acarnanians, honest and ingenuous, confirmed immediately the Decree, and declared

clared war against the Ætolians, without any hesitation or reserve. And yet of all the States of Greece, this people might most reasonably have been excused, if they had sought pretences for delay; had been slow in making any declaration of their sentiments; and in a word, had altogether feared to draw upon themselves the vengeance of their neighbours. For as they were closely joined to the confines of the Ætolian territory, so their country likewise was open and defenceless, and an easy prey to every enemy. And, which was still of more considerable moment, the hatred also, which they had shewn against the Ætolians, had involved them, not long before this time, in very great calamities. But men, that are brave and generous, will force all considerations to fall before their duty. And so strongly was this virtue rooted in the Acarnanians, that, though their State was extremely weak and feeble, they had scarcely in any times been known to swerve from the practice of it. In every conjuncture therefore that is dangerous and difficult, an alliance with this people ought by no means to be slighted, but should rather be embraced with eagerness: since among all the Greeks, there are none who have shewn a warmer love of liberty, or a more unalterable steadiness in all their conduct.

The Epirots on the contrary, when they had received the deputies, confirmed indeed the Decree, but refused to make any declaration of war against the Ætolians, till Philip should have first declared it. At the same time they assured the deputies that were then present from Ætolia, that they would still remain in peace. And thus they acted both a double and dishonourable part. An embassy was sent also to king Ptolemy; to request him not to assist the Ætolians with any kind of supplies or money for the war, in opposition to Philip and the allies.

But the Messenians, for whose sake chiefly the Confederacy was formed, refused to bear any part in the war, unless the

city of Phigalea, which stood upon the borders of their province, should first be separated from the Ætolian government. This resolution, to which the Ephori of the Messenians, Oenis and Nicippus, with some others of the oligarchical leaders, had forced the people to consent, was in my judgement the most senseless and absurd, that could be taken in the present circumstances. It is true indeed, that the calamities of war are such as may well be dreaded: but not in so great degree, as that, rather than engage in it, we should submit with tameness to bear every injury. For to what purpose do we so highly prize an equality in government, the liberty of speaking all our sentiments, and the glorious name of freedom, if nothing is to be preferred to peace? Must we then approve of the conduct of the Thebans, who, in the time of the wars against the Medes, which threatened the destruction of all the States of Greece, separated themselves from the common danger, and were led by their fears to embrace those measures, which proved afterwards so fatal to them? Or can we applaud the sentiments of their Poet Pindar; who, in flattery to the judgement of his country, advises all the citizens, to place their only hopes of safety in repose; and to seek, as he expresses it,

The radiant splendors of majestick Peace?

For these sentiments, which at first appeared so plausible and specious, were found in the event to be not less pernicious than dishonourable. In a word, as no acquisition is more to be esteemed than peace, when it leaves us in possession of our honour and lawful rights; so on the other hand, whenever it is joined with loss of freedom, or with infamy, nothing can be more detestable or fatal.

Now the Messenians, whose counsels all were governed by a faction of a few, had always been misled, by motives which respected only the private interests of the Oligarchy, and had courted peace with much too great an earnestness. For though,
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in consequence of this attention to their ease, they had escaped the storms that seemed to threaten them in many difficult conjunctures; yet on the other hand, while they persisted still unalterably in this conduct, the danger, which they ought chiefly to have dreaded, gained insensibly so great strength against them, that their country was at last forced to struggle with the worst calamities: which might indeed have all been obviated, if they had been careful only to pursue the measures that were necessary, with regard to the people that were situated nearest to them, and who were the most powerful likewise of all the States of Peloponnesus, or rather of all Greece; I mean, the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians: the former of whom had shewn an implacable enmity against them, even from their first settlement in the country, without being able to provoke them to any generous efforts of resentment; while the latter guarded all their interests with care, and treated them with favour and affection, which they neglected to cherish or maintain. From hence it happened, that while these two States were engaged in war, either against each other, or with any more distant enemies, the Messenians, favoured by the times, passed their lives in full security and repose. But when the Lacedæmonians were at last wholly disincumbered from all other wars, and had leisure to employ their strength against them; being then unable of themselves to resist an enemy whose force was far superior to their own, and having neglected also to gain in time such firm and honest friends, as might have stood together with them under every danger, they were forced either to submit to the very vilest servitude, or to abandon their habitations and their country, together with their wives and children. And to this miserable alternative have they often been reduced; even within the times, that are not far distant from the present. For my own part, it is my earnest wish, that the agreement which now subsists among the States of Peloponnesus may still continue to acquire

acquire new strength; and that they may never want the advice, which I am going to offer. But if the bonds of this confederacy should ever be again dissolved, I am fully assured, that there is no other way, by which the Messenians and Arcadians can hope long to remain in the possession of their country, than by embracing the sentiments of Epaminondas, and maintaining still, in every conjuncture, the closest union both of interests and counsels, without dissimulation or reserve. It may add perhaps some weight to my opinion, if we consider what was in this respect the conduct of these two States in ancient times. Now, among many other things that might be mentioned, it is reported by Callisthenes, that the Messenians, in the time of Aristomenes, erected a Column near the altar of Lycæan Jupiter, and inscribed upon it the following verses:

At last stern Justice seals the Tyrant's doom!

Led by the Gods, Messenia's injur'd land

Soon found the Traitor through his dark disguise:

Vain was his hope, t' elude heav'n's vengeful hand,

Or veil his perjury from Jove's piercing eyes.

All hail, the sov'reign King! the Lord of fate!

Ever propitious prove, and bless Arcadia's State.

From this Inscription, in which they thus implore the Gods to protect Arcadia, we may judge, that the Messenians were willing to acknowledge, that they regarded this Province as their second country, after they had lost their own. And indeed they had good reason so to regard it. For when they were driven from their country, in the time of those wars in which they were engaged under the conduct of Aristomenes, the Arcadians not only yielded to them the protection of their State, and admitted them to the rights of citizens, but gave their daughters also, by a publick decree, to the young Messenians

senians that were of age to marry. And having made inquiry likewise into the guilt of their own king Aristocrates, who had basely deserted the Messenians in the combat that was called the Battle of the Trenches, they destroyed the traitor, and extirpated also all his race. But without looking back to an age so far removed, that which happened about the time in which Megalopolis and Messene began to be inhabited, may serve fully to confirm the point which I am labouring to establish. After the battle of Mantinea, in which the death of Epaminondas left the victory doubtful, the Lacedæmonians employed all their efforts, to exclude the people of Messenia from the general treaty: having flattered themselves with secret hopes, that they should soon become the masters of that province. But the Megalopolitans, with all the States that were confederates with the Arcadians, supported the Messenians with so much steadiness and zeal, that they were received by the allies, and included in the peace; while the Lacedæmonians alone, of all the Greeks, were themselves excluded from it. This then may be sufficient to shew the truth of all that I have now advanced. And from hence the Messenians and Arcadians may be taught, to remember always the misfortunes, that have been brought upon their country by the Lacedæmonians, in former times; and to remain so firmly joined together in the bonds of mutual confidence and friendship, that they never may be moved, either by the dread of any enemy, or by any unreasonable love of peace, to desert each other in the time of danger. But we shall now return from this digression.

The Lacedæmonians acted, upon this occasion, in a manner not unsuitable to their usual conduct: for they dismissed the deputies, that were sent to them from the allies, without any answer. Such was the consequence of their late wicked and absurd proceedings; which had involved them in so great doubt and difficulty, that they knew not to what measures they

they ought now to have recourse. So true it is, that rash and desperate projects most frequently reduce men in the end to an utter incapacity, either to think, or act.

But not long afterwards, when new Ephori were elected in the city, the faction that had been the cause of the late disorders, and of the slaughter that was then committed, sent to the Ætolians, and desired that some person might be deputed to them in the name of the Republick. The Ætolians consented readily to this request. And when their Deputy, who was named Machatas, arrived soon afterwards at Lacedæmon, the men, by whose advice he had been sent, pressed the Ephori, that he might be allowed to speak in an assembly of the people. They demanded likewise, that some Kings should be elected without delay, as the laws required; and the empire of the Heraclidæ no longer lie dissolved. The Ephori, who were in every point displeased with the proceeding, but were too weak to resist the violence of those that drove it on; and who apprehended also, that, in case they should refuse to comply with these demands, the young men might be engaged in some attempt against them; consented to allow an assembly of the people to Machatas: but with regard to the proposal for restoring kingly government, they said, that they would deliberate together concerning it, at some future time.

When the people were assembled, Machatas pressed them, in a long discourse, to join their arms with the Ætolians. He boldly charged the Macedonians with many accusations that were vain and groundless: and on the other hand, bestowed such praises on his own Republick, as were not less absurd than false. As soon as he had ended, the debates that followed were long and vehement. For some, supporting all that had been urged in favour of the Ætolians, advised the assembly to accept the alliance that was offered; while others laboured, not less warmly, to dissuade it. After some time however, when the oldest men rose up to speak, and remind-
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ed the people, on the one hand, of the many favours that had been heaped upon them by Antigonus and the Macedonians, and on the other hand, recounted all the injuries, which they had received from Timæus and Charixenus; when the Ætolians with a numerous army wasted all their country, led their people into slavery, and even attempted to take Sparta by surprize and force, having brought back the Exiles, to assist in the design; the whole assembly was at once prevailed on to embrace the sentiments that were most contrary to the Ætolians, and to remain firm in their alliance with the Macedonians and with Philip. Machatas therefore returned back again to his country, without having obtained the end of his commission.

But those, who had been the authors of the former tumult, resolved that things should not long remain in their present state. Having gained therefore some of the young men of the city to their party, they formed a second attempt, which was indeed most horrible and impious. There was a certain Sacrifice, of old institution in the country, in honour of Minerva; at which the custom was, that all the Youth of the city should appear in arms, and walk in procession to the temple; while the Ephori stood waiting round the Shrine, ready to perform the sacred offices. At the time then of this solemn festival, some of the young men that were armed to attend the ceremony, fell suddenly upon the magistrates, as they were busied in the sacrifice, and slew them. Yet such was the sanctity of this Temple, that it had afforded always an inviolable refuge, even to men that were condemned to die. But so little was it now respected by these daring and inhuman wretches, that they made no scruple to pollute the venerable place, with the blood of all the Ephori; and to kill them, even at the very altar, and round the sacred table of the Goddess. Afterwards, that they might fully accomplish all their purpose, they killed also Gyridas, with others of the

oldest men. And having forced the rest, that were averse to their designs, to retire from the city, they chose new Ephori from their own faction, and immediately concluded an alliance with the Ætolians. The cause of all this violence, was partly their hatred of the Achæans; partly their ingratitude towards the Macedonians; and in part likewise, their senseless disregard of all mankind. To which we may also add, what indeed was of the greatest weight, the affection which they still retained for Cleomenes; and the constant expectation which they cherished, that this Prince would return to them again in safety. Thus it is, that men who are acquainted with the arts of life, and whose manners are gentle and engaging, not only win the esteem and affection of mankind when they are present with them; but even in the time of long and distant absence, leave behind them such strong sparks of inclination and desire, as are not easily extinguished. For, not to mention other circumstances, during three whole years which now had passed, since Cleomenes was forced to desert his kingdom, the Lacedæmonians, though in other points their State was still administered according to the ancient laws, had shewn not even the least desire to appoint other kings. But no sooner had the news of his death arrived at Sparta, than both the people and the Ephori resolved that some should be elected without delay. The Ephori therefore, who belonged, as we have said, to the faction that had caused the late disorders, and concluded an alliance with the Ætolians, made choice of one who had a clear and uncontested right to bear the office. This was Agefipolis, who had not yet arrived indeed at perfect age, but was the son of Agefipolis, whose father Cleombrotus, when Leonidas was driven from Sparta, had succeeded to the kingdom, as being the next in blood to that prince. At the same time they named, as Tutor to the King, Cleomenes, who was the son also of Cleombrotus, and brother of Agefipolis. But with regard to the

the other royal House, though there were now two sons remaining from a daughter of Hippomedon, by Archidamus the son of Eudamidas; and though Hippomedon himself was still alive, who was the son of Agefilaus, and grandson of Eudamidas; and though there were many others also, that were allied in a more remote degree to the branches of this family; yet all their claims were disregarded: and Lycurgus was advanced to be the other King; among whose ancestors, there was none that ever had possessed the regal dignity. But by giving only a single Talent to each of the Ephori, he became at once a descendant from the race of Hercules, and a King of Sparta. So easy oftentimes is the purchase even of the greatest honours. But from hence it happened, that not their children or remote posterity, but themselves who had made the choice, were the first that felt the punishment, that was due to their imprudence.

Machatas, being informed of all that had been done in Sparta, returned back again to that city, and pressed the Ephori and the Kings, to begin the war without delay against the Achæans. He represented to them, that this was the only measure, by which they could hope effectually to break all contention, and defeat the attempts of those, who, both in Lacedæmon and in Ætolia likewise, were still labouring to obstruct the alliance. And having thus, without great difficulty, accomplished his design, and engaged these foolish magistrates to approve of all that was proposed, he went back again to his own country. Lycurgus then drew together a body of troops; and having added to them also some of the forces of the city, he fell suddenly upon the Argian territory, before the people, who were persuaded that the peace still subsisted, had taken any measures for their security or defence. He made himself master therefore in the very first assault of Polichna, Prasîæ, Leucæ, and Cyphanta. He endeavoured also to take by storm Glympes and Zarax; but was repulsed

in the attempt. After these exploits, the Lacedæmonians made publick proclamation of the war. The Eleans also were prevailed on by Machatas, who repeated to them the same discourse which he had made at Lacedæmon, to turn their arms against the Achæans. And thus the Ætolians, finding that all things had conspired with their designs, entered upon the war with alacrity and confidence; while the Achæans on the contrary were dejected and distressed. For Philip, upon whom their chief strength and hopes were founded, had not yet completed all his preparations: the Epirots still formed pretences for delay: the Messenians remained inactive: and lastly the Ætolians, being thus favoured by the senseless conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, had already as it were inclosed them upon every side with war.

The Prætorship of Aratus was just now ready to expire, and his Son Aratus was appointed to succeed him. The Ætolian Prætor Scopas had performed about half the course of his administration. For the Ætolians were accustomed to elect their magistrates, immediately after the time of the autumnal Equinox: and the Achæans, at the Rising of the Pleiades. As soon then as the younger Aratus had entered upon the duties of his office, the Spring being now advanced, all things every where began at once to hasten into action. For it was now, that Annibal was preparing to besiege Saguntum; and that the Romans sent an army into Illyria, to chastise Demetrius: that Antiochus, having gained possession, by the treachery of Theodotus, of Tyre and Ptolemais, resolved to usurp the sovereignty of Cœlesyria; and that Ptolemy, on the other hand, drew together all his forces to oppose him. At the same time Lycurgus, following in his conduct the example of Cleomenes, laid siege to Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory: the Achæans collected a numerous body of mercenary troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, to secure their country from the war that was ready to surround them: and
Philip

Philip also began his march from Macedon, at the head of ten thousand Macedonians heavy-armed, five thousand Pelastæ, and eight hundred Horse. And lastly, while all these great and important armaments were thus ready to be carried into action, the Rhodians likewise began their war upon the people of Byzantium, from the causes which I am now going to relate.

CHAP. V.

BYZANTIUM, of all the cities in the world, is the most happy in it's situation, with respect to the sea: being not only secure on that side from all enemies, but possessed also of the means of obtaining every kind of necessaries in the greatest plenty. But with respect to the land, there is scarcely any place that has so little claim to these advantages. With regard to the sea, the Byzantines, standing close upon the entrance of the Pontus, command so absolutely all that passage, that it is not possible for any merchant to sail through it, or return, without their permission: and from hence they are the masters of all those commodities, which are drawn in various kinds from the countries that lie round this sea, to satisfy the wants, or the conveniencies, of other men. For among the things that are necessary for use, they supply the Greeks with leather, and with great numbers of very serviceable slaves. And with regard to those that are esteemed conveniencies, they send honey, and wax, with all kinds of seasoned and salted meats: taking from us in exchange our own superfluous commodities; oil, and every sort of wine. They sometimes also furnish us with corn; and sometimes receive it from us; as the wants of either may require. Now it is certain that the Greeks must either be excluded wholly from this commerce, or be deprived at least of all it's chief advantages, if ever the Byzantines should engage
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in any ill designs against them, and be joined in friendship with the barbarous people of Galatia, or rather with those of Thrace; or even indeed, if they should ever be disposed to leave the country. For as well by reason of the extreme narrowness of the passage, as from the numbers also of those barbarians that are settled round it, we never should be able to gain an entrance through it into the Pontus. Though the Byzantines therefore are themselves possessed of the first and best advantages of this happy situation, which enables them to make both an easy and a profitable exchange of their superfluous commodities, and to procure in return, without any pain or danger, whatever their own lands fail to furnish; yet since, through their means chiefly, other countries also are enabled, as we have said, to obtain many things that are of the greatest use; it seems reasonable, that they should be regarded always by the Greeks, as common benefactors; and receive not only favour and acknowledgements, but assistance likewise to repel all attempts, that may be made against them by their barbarous neighbours.

But as this city is placed a little beyond the limits of those countries, which are most usually frequented by us; and because the nature and peculiar excellence of its situation have hitherto, upon that account, remained almost unknown; it may perhaps be useful to explain at large the causes, to which it is indebted for those great advantages which it enjoys. For since all men are not able to obtain the opportunity, which is first to be desired, of viewing with their eyes the things that are singular, and worthy of their observation, in any distant country; I could wish however, that at least they might be taught to gain some right conception of them, and even to form such an image of them in their minds, as should bear a near resemblance to the truth.

That then which is called the Pontus, contains in its circumference almost twenty-two thousand stadia. It has two mouths,

mouths, diametrically opposite to each other: one, which opens into the Propontis; and the other on the side of the Palus Mæotis, whose circumference includes about eight thousand stadia. These beds receive the waters of many large rivers, which flow into them from Asia; and of others likewise, more in number, and more considerable in their size, that come from Europe. The Mæotis, being filled by these, discharges them again, through the mouth last mentioned, into the Pontus: and from thence they still pass forwards, through the other mouth, into the Propontis. The mouth on the side of the Mæotis, is called the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It contains about sixty stadia in length, and about thirty in its breadth; and is in every part of a very inconsiderable depth. The mouth of the Pontus, on the opposite side, is called the Thracian Bosphorus; and includes in length a hundred and twenty stadia: but the breadth of it is unequal. This mouth, beginning, on the side of the Propontis, at that space which lies between Chalcedon and Byzantium, whose breadth is about fourteen stadia, from thence extends towards the Pontus, and is ended at a place called Hieron; in which Jason, at his return from Colchis, is said first to have offered sacrifice to the twelve Gods. This place, though it be situated in Asia, is not far removed from Europe; being distant, about twelve stadia only, from the temple of Sarapis, which stands opposite to it, upon the coast of Thrace.

There are two causes, to which it must be ascribed, that the Mæotis and the Pontus discharge their waters in continual flow, from their respective beds. The first, which is obvious, and clear to all, is, that when many rivers fall into a bed, whose limits are fixed and circumscribed, if no opening should be found, through which they may be again discharged, the waters, as they are more and more increased, must still rise to a greater height, till at last they overflow their bounds, and run to fill a larger space, than that into which they were at first

first received: but on the other hand, if there be any free and open passage, through which they may be allowed to flow, then all that is superfluous and redundant will of necessity be discharged that way. The other cause is the great quantity of earth and various matter, which the rivers bring down with them after heavy rains. For from hence large banks are formed, which press and elevate the waters, and force them in like manner to direct their course forwards, through the mouths that are open to receive them. And as these banks are formed continually, and the rivers also continue still to enter, in regular and constant flow, the efflux of the waters must be constant likewise, without any stop or intermission.

These then are the true causes, from whence the waters of the Pontus are continually flowing from their beds: causes, not derived from the report of merchants; but founded upon fact and nature; which afford indeed, in all inquiries, the surest and the most convincing evidence. But since we have advanced so far in this digression, instead of being satisfied with that hasty negligence, with which those, who hitherto have treated of these subjects, must almost all be charged, let us endeavour rather, not only to describe with accuracy the effects that are produced, but to add such a demonstration also of the causes from whence they severally arise, as may leave nothing doubtful or obscure. For in the present times, in which all parts of the earth are become accessible either by land or sea, we ought by no means to have recourse, in things that are unknown, to the fabulous reports of poets and mythologists, and thus vainly labour to establish dark and disputable points, by a kind of testimony, which, as Heraclitus has remarked, deserves no credit; but should be careful rather to rest the whole authority of that which we relate, upon such facts alone, as are drawn from the actual view, and real knowledge, of the places, which we at any time may take occasion to describe.

I say

I say then, that both the Palus Mæotis and the Pontus have, for a long time past, received continually great quantities of earth and matter, which are still heaped together; and by which, in the course of time, their beds must be intirely filled: unless some change should happen in the places, or the rivers cease to bring down these impediments. For since time is infinite; but the limits of these beds circumscribed and fixed; it is manifest, that any such accession, how small soever, if it be constant only and never discontinued, must in the end be sufficient for this purpose. Nor is it possible indeed, that it should ever happen otherwise in nature, but that when any thing, which itself is finite, continues still, in the course of infinite succession, to receive any new supply, or to suffer any constant diminution, it must in the end arrive at it's fullest possible increase, or on the other hand, be wasted and destroyed; even though the addition, or the loss, should be made by the least conceivable degrees. But since it is not any small and inconsiderable portion, but, on the contrary, a very great quantity of matter, that is poured continually into these two beds, the consequence, of which we are speaking, must be considered, not as a remote event, but rather as one that is likely very soon to happen. I might almost say, that it has already happened. For the Mæotis is indeed so nearly filled, that in most parts of it the water scarcely exceeds the depth of fifteen or of twenty feet: so that large vessels cannot pass securely through it without a pilot. We may also add; that the Mæotis, as all writers have declared, was anciently a Sea, and flowed intermingled with the Pontus: whereas at this time, it is known to be a sweet and stagnant Lake; the waters of the Pontus being still forced backwards, and excluded from it, by the banks of sand; while the rivers continue still to enter, and possess all the space.

The same event must happen likewise in the Pontus. And

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indeed this also has in part already happened: though, by reason of the largeness of the bed, there are few that have yet perceived it. But a slight degree of attention will even now clearly shew the truth of this opinion. For the Ister, which flows from Europe, and discharges itself into the Pontus by many mouths, has already, with the sand and other matter which it brings down with it, formed a Bank which is called by the seamen Stethe, of almost a thousand stadia in it's length, and at the distance of one day's course from land; against which the vessels that pass through the Pontus, as they are sailing in mid sea, often strike unwarily in the night. The cause, to which it must be ascribed, that this Bank, instead of being settled near the shore, is pushed forward to so great a distance from it, is plainly this which follows. As long as the rivers retain so much of their impetuosity and force, as is sufficient to surmount the resistance of the sea, and to make it yield it's place, so long likewise, the sand, and every thing besides that is brought down with them, must still be driven forwards, and not suffered either to stop or to subside. But when the violence and rapidity of the current are once checked and broken by the depth and quantity of the opposing waters, then the heavy earth, which before was wafted in the stream, is by it's own nature sunk towards the bottom, and settled there. And from hence it happens, that those banks of sand, which are formed by large and rapid rivers, are thrown together either at a distance from the shore or in some deep water near it: while those, on the contrary, that are brought down by small and gentle streams, lie close to the very entrance of the mouths, from whence they are discharged. This remark may be confirmed, by that which is known to happen after the fall of strong and violent rains. For at those times, even the smallest rivers, having been once enabled to surmount the resistance of the waters at their entrance,

entrance, force their way far into the sea, and still drive the sands before them, to a greater or more moderate distance, in proportion to their respective strength and force.

With regard to that which we have affirmed, of the size and vast extent of that Bank which was just now mentioned, as well as of the great quantities in general both of stones, of wood, and of earth, which are conveyed continually into the Pontus by these rivers, there is no man surely so weak in judgement, as to entertain any kind of doubt concerning the possibility of the facts. For we see that torrents, even not the most considerable in strength or violence, open deep trenches for their passage, and force their way even through the midst of mountains, carrying with them every kind of matter, earth, and stones; and so covering and filling up the countries over which they pass, that they are scarcely known to be the same, having assumed a face far different from their own. It cannot therefore be thought incredible or strange, that rivers of the largest size, and which also flow continually, should produce the effects which we have above described; and roll together such vast quantities of matter, as must in the end intirely fill the Pontus. For I speak not of it, as an event that is barely probable, but as of one that cannot fail to happen: of which this circumstance may also serve as a kind of antecedent proof. As much as the waters of the Mæotis are now sweeter than the Pontus, so much sweeter also is the latter than the waters of our Sea. Now from hence we may conclude, that when the time, in which the Mæotis was completely filled, and that which may be requisite for filling up the Pontus, shall stand in the same proportion to each other as the different greatness of their respective beds, the latter likewise will then become a fresh and standing Lake, as the former is now known to be. But this indeed will happen so much sooner also in the Pontus, as the

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rivers

ivers which it receives are more in number, than those that fall into the Maotis, and of larger size.

This then may be sufficient to satisfy the doubts of those, who are unwilling to believe, that the Pontus is now continually receiving a large increase of matter within it's bed; and that in the course of time it must be intirely filled, and this great Sea become a Lake and stagnant marsh. From these reflections we may also learn to be secure, against all the monstrous fictions, and lying wonders, which usually are reported to us by those that sail upon the sea; and no longer be compelled through ignorance to swallow greedily like children every senseless tale: but having now some traces of the truth impressed upon our minds, may be able to form always some certain judgement, by which we may distinguish fact from falsehood. We now return again to describe the situation of Byzantium, from whence we made this digression.

The Strait, which joins the Pontus with the Propontis, contains in length a hundred and twenty stadia, as we have already mentioned. The extreme limits of it are, on the one side, towards the Pontus, a place called Hieron; and on the other, towards the Propontis, that Space that lies between Byzantium and Chalcedon. Between these two boundaries, there is a Promontory, called Hermæum, which advances far into the sea. It stands on the side of Europe, in the most narrow part of all the Strait: for the distance of it from the coast of Asia does not exceed five stadia. It was in this place, that Darius is reported to have laid a bridge across the sea, in his expedition against the Scythians. Now the water, coming from the Pontus, at first flows on in the same uniform and unbroken course, because the coast on either side is smooth and equal. But as it approaches near Hermæum, being now inclosed, as we have said, in the most narrow part of all the Strait, and driven with violence against this promontory,

montory, it is suddenly struck back, and forced over to the opposite shore of Asia. From thence it again returns to the side of Europe, and breaks against the Hestian Promontories. From these again, it is once more hurried back to Asia, to the place called Bos; where Io is fabled by the Poets to have first touched the land, when she passed this Strait. And lastly, falling back again from Bos, it directs it's course towards Byzantium: and there breaking into eddies, a small part of it winds itself into a Pool which is called, the Horn; while the rest, and greater part, flows away towards Chalcedon, upon the opposite shore, which however it in vain attempts to reach. For as the Strait is in this part of a greater breadth, and because the strength also of the current has already been so often broken, it is now no longer able to flow, and to return, in short and sharp angles as before; but falling away obliquely from Chalcedon, takes it's course forwards along the middle of the Strait.

Now from hence it happens, that Byzantium, in point of situation, possesses great advantages, of which Chalcedon is entirely destitute: though, when we only take a view of these two cities, they appear to be in this respect alike and equal. But the truth is, that a vessel sailing towards Chalcedon, cannot gain the port without the greatest difficulty; while on the other hand, the current itself will waft us, even whether we will or not, into the harbour of Byzantium. For thus when any vessels attempt to pass from Chalcedon to Byzantium, as the current will not suffer them to cross the Strait in a direct and even line, they first steer obliquely towards Bos and Chrysopolis; which last city was in former times possessed by the Athenians, who, by the advice of Alcibiades, first exacted there a certain Impost from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus; and from thence, committing themselves at once to the current of the water, they are conveyed without any pain or difficulty to Byzantium. Nor is the navigation less

favoured

favourable and commodious, on the other side also of this city. For whether we are sailing from the Hellespont towards Byzantium before a southern wind, by taking our route along the shore of Europe, we perform the voyage with ease: or whether, on the contrary, we are carried by a northern gale from Byzantium towards the Hellespont, keeping still our course along the same coast of Europe, we enter without any danger the Strait of the Propontis, between Sestus and Abydus; and may also return again with safety, in the same manner as before. But the people of Chalcedon are so far from being possessed of these advantages, that, on the contrary, they can never steer their course along their own proper coast, because the shore is full of bays and promontories, and the land of Cyzicus especially runs far out into the sea. In sailing therefore from the Hellespont towards Chalcedon, they are forced to keep close along the shore of Europe, till they arrive very near Byzantium: and from thence they first turn away, and direct their course across the Strait, to gain their own harbour; which is indeed no easy task, by reason of the currents which have before been mentioned. And thus again, when they design to sail from Chalcedon to the Hellespont, taking still their course along the shore of Europe, they are at no time able to steer directly over from their own port to the coast of Thrace: since, besides the current that obstructs their passage, they are also forced to struggle against those winds, which alike are contrary to the course that they would wish to take. For either they are driven by the South too far towards the Pontus; or, on the other hand, are turned from the direction of their route by the northern wind, which blows against them from that sea. Nor is it possible to sail from Chalcedon to Byzantium, or to return back again from the coast of Thrace, without being met by the one or other of these winds. Such then, as we have now remarked, are the advantages, which the Byzantines derive from the situation
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of their city, with respect to the sea. We shall next consider also the disadvantages, to which the same situation has exposed them, on the side towards the land.

As their country then is every way surrounded and inclosed, even from the Pontus to the Ægean Sea, by the barbarous tribes of Thrace, they are from thence involved in a very difficult as well as constant war. Nor is it possible, by any force which they can raise, that they should ever free themselves intirely from these enemies. For when they have conquered one, three other States, more powerful than the first, stand ready to invade their country. And even though they should submit to enter into treaties, and pay heavy tributes, they still are left in the same condition as before. For the concessions, that are made to any single power, never fail to raise against them many enemies in the room of one. Thus are they worn and wasted by a war, from which they never can get free : and which, on the other hand, they are scarcely able to sustain. For what danger is so close and pressing, as a faithless neighbour ? or what war more terrible, than that which is practised by barbarians ? From hence it happens, that this people, besides that they are doomed to struggle against those calamities which are the usual consequence of war, are also exposed continually to that kind of torment, which Tantalus, among the Poets, is feigned to suffer. For when they have employed great pains to cultivate their lands, which are by nature also very fertile, and the rich fruits stand ready to repay their labours ; on a sudden these barbarians, pouring down upon the country, destroy one part, and carry away the rest : and only leave to the Byzantines, after all their cost and toil, the pain of beholding their best harvests wasted ; while their beauty also adds an aggravation to the grief, and renders the sense of their calamity more sharp and unsupportable.

The Byzantines however, amidst all the distresses of these wars,

wars, the very continuance of which had rendered them perhaps in some degree more easy to be born, never changed their conduct with respect to the States of Greece. But afterwards, when the Gauls, that were led by Comontorius, arrived also in their country, and began to turn their arms against them, they were then reduced at once to very great extremities. These Gauls were a part of that numerous army, which had left their native seats under the command of Brennus. But having happily escaped the general slaughter that was made of their companions in the neighbourhood of Delphi, and arriving near the Hellespont, they were so much charmed with the beauty of the country that lay round Byzantium, that they resolved to settle there, and not pass over into Asia. And having in a short time subdued the neighbouring inhabitants of Thrace, and fixed their seat of government at Tyle, they seemed to threaten Byzantium with the last destruction. The Byzantines therefore, in the first incursions that were made by Comontorius upon their country, paid sometimes three and five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand pieces of gold, to save their lands from being plundered. And afterwards, they submitted to pay a yearly tribute of fourscore talents; which was continued to the time of Cavarus, who was the last of all their kings. For the Gauls were then conquered by the Thracians in their turn, and the whole race extirpated.

During this time, the Byzantines, unable to support the burthen of these heavy tributes, implored assistance from the States of Greece. And when the greater part of these intirely slighted their solicitations, they were forced at last, through mere necessity, to exact a certain Impost from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus. But the merchants, beginning soon to feel the loss and inconvenience that arose to them from this proceeding, exclaimed aloud against the injustice of it, and
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all joined to blame the Rhodians for permitting it: for these were at that time the most powerful people upon the sea. From hence arose the War, which we are now going to describe. For the Rhodians, being excited partly by their own particular loss, and partly by the wrong which their neighbours were forced also to sustain, having secured to themselves the assistance of their allies, sent ambassadors to Byzantium, and demanded that this Impost should be abolished. But the Byzantines paid no regard to the demand: but on the contrary, adhered to the opinion of Hecatondorus and Olympiodorus, who were then the first in the administration of the city; and who maintained, in a publick conference with the ambassadors, that what they had done was just and reasonable. The ambassadors were forced therefore to return, without having obtained the end of their commission: and the Rhodians immediately declared war against the Byzantines. They sent some deputies also to king Prusias, whom they knew to be inflamed by an old resentment against the people of Byzantium; and pressed him to join his forces with them in the war. The Byzantines made on their part all the necessary preparations: and sent to demand assistance also from Attalus and Achæus. The first of these was heartily disposed to support their interests: but because he was now confined within the limits of his own hereditary kingdom by the victories of Achæus, his power was small and inconsiderable. But Achæus, who was at this time master of the countries that were on this side of mount Taurus, and who lately had assumed the Regal title, promised to assist them with all his forces; and by this assurance, struck no small terror into Prusias and the Rhodians, while on the other hand he raised the courage of the Byzantines, and filled them with the fairest expectations of success.

This Prince Achæus was nearly allied in blood to Antiochus, who at this time reigned in Syria: and had gained for

himself the sovereignty of all those countries that were just now mentioned, in the following manner.

When Seleucus, the father of Antiochus, was dead, and the kingdom had devolved upon the eldest of his sons, who was also called Seleucus, Achæus, being allied, as we have said, to the Royal House, attended the young King in the expedition which he made into the provinces on this side of mount Taurus, about two years before the times of which we are speaking. For scarcely was he seated upon the throne, when he received the news, that Attalus had possessed himself by force of all this country. He resolved therefore to attempt without delay to recover again his paternal rights. But when he had passed the mountains with a numerous army, he was there treacherously killed by Nicanor, and a certain Gaul whose name was Apaturius. Achæus, having, as his duty then required, revenged this murder by the death of both the traitors, and taken upon himself the command of all the forces, with the intire administration of the war, displayed so much true greatness, as well as wisdom in his conduct, that, though all circumstances highly favoured him, and the troops themselves conspired together with the times, to place the diadem upon his head, he persisted to refuse that honour; and reserved the country for Antiochus, the youngest of the children of Seleucus: for whose sake also, he still went on to extend his conquests, and to regain the places that were lost. But when the success began at last to exceed even his greatest hopes; when he not only had subdued the country by his arms, but shut up Attalus himself in Pergamus; being then no longer able to maintain his steadiness, upon the height to which he was thus raised by fortune, he fell aside at once from virtue, and having usurped the diadem and royal name, from that time was regarded as the greatest and most formidable Prince, of all that were on this side of mount Taurus. Upon his assistance therefore the Byzantines with good reason built their strongest

strongest hopes ; and entered with confidence into the war, against Prusias and the Rhodians.

With regard to Prusias, he had long before this time accused the people of Byzantium, of having treated him with contempt and scorn. For when they had decreed some Statues in his honour, instead of taking care to erect them with all the usual rites of consecration, they on the contrary made afterwards a jest of their own Decree, and suffered it to lie neglected and forgotten. He was also much dissatisfied with the pains which they had employed, to procure a peace between Attalus and Achæus ; which must have proved in all points hurtful to his interests. Another cause of his resentment was, that the Byzantines had deputed some persons from their city, to join with Attalus in the celebration of the Games that were sacred to Minerva ; but had sent none to Him, when he held the solemn feast of the Soteria. Incensed therefore by a passion, which had long been working in his mind, he seized with joy the occasion that was offered ; and resolved, in concert with the ambassadors, that while the Rhodians pressed the Byzantines upon the sea, himself would carry on the war by land against them. Such were the causes, and such the commencement of the war between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

The Byzantines, encouraged, as we have said, by the hope of that assistance which they expected from Achæus, at first performed their part with great alacrity and spirit. They sent to invite Tibites back from Macedon ; imagining, that through his means, they should be able to excite some disorders in Bithynia, and involve Prusias in the same dangers and alarms, as those with which they were threatened by him. For this Prince, having begun the war with all that vigour which his resentment had inspired, had already taken Hieron, which stood at the very entrance of the Strait, and which the Byzantines, on account of it's happy situation, had purchased

not long before at a great expence ; that from thence they might be able to protect the merchants that traded into the Pontus, and to secure the importation of their slaves, together with the other traffick also of that Sea. He made himself master also of that part of Mysia, on the side of Asia, which for a course of many years had belonged to the Byzantines. At the same time the Rhodians, having equipped six vessels of their own, and received four more from their allies, steered their course towards the Hellespont. And when they had stationed nine of the ships near Sestus, to intercept the vessels that should attempt to pass into the Pontus, Xenophantus, who commanded all the fleet, sailed forwards in the tenth, and approached near Byzantium ; with design to try whether the Byzantines might be inclined by the sight of danger to desist from their first design. But perceiving that his expectations were in no way answered, he returned and joined the other ships, and with the whole fleet sailed back again to Rhodes. In the mean while the Byzantines pressed Achæus to join them with his forces : and sent some persons into Macedon, to bring away Tibites ; who was the Uncle of king Prusias, and was judged, on that account, to hold as fair a claim as the king himself to the sovereignty of Bithynia.

But when the Rhodians remarked the firmness, with which the Byzantines had resolved to carry on the war, they had recourse to a very wise expedient, by which they at last accomplished all their purpose. They saw that this great confidence, which the Byzantines had assumed, was founded only on the succours which they expected from Achæus. They knew likewise, that Andromachus, the father of this Prince, had for some time been detained a prisoner at Alexandria, and that Achæus was very anxious for his safety. They formed therefore the design of sending an embassy to Ptolemy, to desire that Andromachus might be released. They had indeed before this time slightly urged the same request. But now they pressed it with

with the greatest earnestness; imagining, that when Achæus should be indebted to them for a service so considerable, he must be forced in gratitude to consent to every thing that they should afterwards demand. When the ambassadors arrived, they found that Ptolemy was willing still to detain Andromachus, from whom he expected to draw great advantage, in the conjunctures that were likely to arise. For some disputes were now subsisting between Antiochus and himself. The power of Achæus likewise, who lately had declared himself an independent Sovereign, was such as could not fail to bring considerable weight, in certain matters of importance. And this prisoner not only was the Father of Achæus, but the Brother also of Laodice, the wife of Seleucus. But on the other hand, as the King was strongly inclined to gratify the Rhodians in all their wishes, and to favour all their interests, he at last consented to deliver Andromachus into their hands, that they might restore him to his Son. They restored him accordingly without delay: and having decreed also certain honours to Achæus, they at once deprived the people of Byzantium of their strongest hope. Tibites also died, as he was returning back from Macedon. This fatal accident, with that which had already happened, intirely disconcerted all the measures, and damped the ardour of the Byzantines. But Prusias on the contrary conceived new hopes; and maintained the war against them, upon the coast of Asia, with great vigour and success: while the Thracians also, whom he had engaged into his service, pressed them so closely on the side of Europe, that they dared not even to appear without their gates. Perceiving therefore, that all their expectations were destroyed and lost, and being harrassed thus by their enemies on every side, they began now only to consider, by what means they might at last be disengaged from the war with honour.

Happily about this time Cavarus, king of the Gauls, came
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to Byzantium. And as he wished with no small earnestness, that these disputes might be accommodated, he employed his pains with such success, that both Prusias and the Byzantines consented to the terms that were proposed. When the Rhodians were informed of the zeal which Cavarus had shewn to procure a peace, and that Prusias had submitted to his mediation, they were willing on their part also to put an end to the war; on condition however, that they should be suffered to accomplish their first design. They deputed therefore Aridices as their ambassador to Byzantium; and at the same time sent Polemocrates with three triremes, to offer, as we express it, the Spear or the Caduceus, to the choice of the Byzantines. But on their first arrival, the peace was instantly concluded; Cothon, the son of Calligiton, being at this time Hieromnemon of Byzantium. With respect to the Rhodians, the terms were simply these. "The Byzantines shall exact no Impost from the vessels that pass into the Pontus. Upon this condition, the Rhodians and their allies will remain in peace with the people of Byzantium." With Prusias, the Treaty was concluded in the words that follow. "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Prusias and the Byzantines. The Byzantines shall not commit hostilities of any kind against Prusias, nor Prusias against the Byzantines. Prusias shall restore to the Byzantines without any ransom, all the lands and fortresses, the people, and the prisoners, that have been taken or subdued. He shall restore the vessels also that were taken in the beginning of the war: together with the arms that were found in any of the fortresses; and all the timber, tiles, and marble, that were carried away from Hieron, or from the country round it." For Prusias, dreading the arrival of Tibites, had removed from all the fortresses whatever was fit for any use. It was added in the last place; "that Prusias should compel the Bithynians to restore all that had been taken from the men who were employed to cultivate the lands,
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in that part of Mysia which belonged to the Byzantines." Such was the beginning, and such the end of the War of Prusias and the Rhodians, against the people of Byzantium.

After these transactions, the Cnossians deputed some ambassadors to the Rhodians, and requested that they would send to them the fleet that was under the command of Polemocles, together with three open boats. But when these vessels arrived upon the coast of Crete, the Eleuthernæans, suspecting that some mischief was designed against them, because one of their citizens had been killed by Polemocles to gratify the Cnossians, at first expostulated with the Rhodians concerning this proceeding, and afterwards declared war against them. Not long before this time, the Lyttians also were involved in the worst calamities of war. And indeed the whole Isle of Crete had been lately made the scene of very great disorders, which were occasioned in the following manner.

The Cnossians and Gortynians, having joined together their forces, had made themselves masters of all the places in the Island, Lyttus alone excepted. And when this single city still refused to submit, they resolved to conquer it by force, and to punish the inhabitants with the last destruction; that thus they might strike a terror into the rest of Crete. At first then, all the people of the island were engaged in this design, and turned their arms against the Lyttians. But after some time, jealousies and discontent, having sprung, as it often happens among the Cretans, from small and inconsiderable causes, grew at last to an open and declared dissension, and broke the force of this confederacy. For the Polyrrhenians, the Ceretæ, the Lampæans, the Orians, and the Arcadians, separated themselves with one consent from their alliance with the Cnossians, and resolved to support the Lyttians. Among the Gortynians also, while the oldest men adhered still firmly to the Cnossians, the young men, on the other hand, contended with equal warmth, in favour of the Lyttians.

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The Cnossians, being greatly alarmed by this sudden revolt of all their chief allies, called in to their assistance a thousand mercenary soldiers from Ætolia. As soon as these arrived, the oldest men among the Gortynians, having first gained possession of the citadel, and received into it the Cnossians and Ætolians, killed or drove out all the young men, and delivered their city to the Cnossians. And not long afterwards, when the Lyttians had led out all their forces, to make incursions upon the territory of their enemies, the Cnossians, having received notice of their absence, marched in haste, and possessed themselves of Lyttus, when it was destitute of all defence. And having sent the women and the children away to Cnossus, they set fire to the city, pillaged, and razed it to the ground. The Lyttians, returning from their expedition, and perceiving what had happened, were so struck with consternation and despair, that not one among them had the courage to set his foot within the city. But when they had all marched round it, deploring with loud groans and lamentations the ruin of their country, and their own unhappy fate, they again turned back, and retired for refuge to the Lampæans. They were received by these with all the marks of friendship and affection: and being thus, in one day's time, from citizens become strangers, without laws or city, they continued afterwards to carry on the war against the Cnossians, in conjunction with the rest of the allies. Thus, in a manner most astonishing and strange, Lyttus, a colony from Lacedæmon, the most ancient city of the island, and whose people, descended from the Spartan race, were confessed to be the bravest of all that were produced in Crete, was at once sunk and lost in irrecoverable ruin.

The Polyrrenians, the Lampæans, and the rest of the allies, having considered that the Ætolians, from whom the Cnossians had received their mercenary forces, were at this time engaged in war against the Achæans and king Philip,
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sent some deputies to these, to desire that they would enter into an alliance with them, and send some troops to their assistance. To this request both Philip and the Achæans readily consented: and having received them into the general confederacy, they sent soon afterwards to their assistance, four hundred Illyrians under the command of Plator, two hundred Achæans, and a hundred Phocæans. The Polyrrhenians, having obtained these succours, were now able to maintain the war with so great vigour, that they soon forced the Eleuthernæans, the Cydoniataë, and the Apteræans, to keep close behind their walls; and at last compelled them to join their party, and desert the alliance of the Cnossians. After this success, they sent in return to Philip and the Achæans, five hundred Cretans; as the Cnossians also, not long before, had sent a thousand of their troops to the Ætolians; to assist them severally in the war in which they were engaged. The young men likewise, that had been driven from Gortyna, having gained possession of the port of Phæstia, and afterwards of their own harbour also, maintained their posts with the greatest intrepidity; and from thence carried on the war without remission against the old Gortynians that were masters of the city. Such was the condition of affairs in Crete.

About this time also, Mithridates began that war against the Sinopeans, which was indeed the source and first occasion of all those great calamities that afterwards befel this people. Upon this occasion, they sent an embassy to Rhodes, to solicit some assistance. The Rhodians, having made choice of three among their own citizens, delivered to them a hundred and forty thousand Drachmæ; that from thence the Sinopeans might be furnished with the stores that were necessary for the war. From this sum they were supplied with ten thousand casks of wine; three hundred pounds of twisted hair, and one hundred pounds of strings, all prepared for use;

use; a thousand suits of armour; three thousand pieces of coined gold; and four catapults, with some engineers. The ambassadors, having received these stores, returned again in haste to Sinope. For the Sinopeans were now filled with the greatest apprehensions; and were persuaded that Mithridates would at once invest them both by land and sea. They hastened therefore to make such a disposition of their forces, as might secure the city on both sides against the danger of a siege.

Sinope is situated in a Peninsula, which extends into the sea, upon the right side of the Pontus, as we sail towards the Phasis. It stands upon the Isthmus of the Peninsula; and covers the whole extremity of the land, in the part which is connected with the continent of Asia, and which contains about two stadia only in it's breadth. The Peninsula itself, as it falls down towards the coast, is all flat and open: but the borders of it, that are nearest to the sea, are rough, unequal, and very difficult of access. The Sinopeans therefore, being apprehensive that Mithridates would invest them on the side of Asia, and at the same time land some forces from the sea upon the opposite side, and possess himself of the open plain, together with all the posts that might command the city, began to fortify the circuit of the coast; driving sharp stakes into the ground, and throwing up intrenchments, in every part in which the enemy could attempt to land; and distributing their machines and troops into all the advantageous posts. And indeed, as this Peninsula is of very moderate extent, a small body of forces may at all times be sufficient for it's defence. But we shall here leave the Sinopeans; and return again to the Social War.

CHAP. VI.

PHILIP, beginning his march from Macedon with all the forces, advanced towards Thessaly and Epirus, with design to enter that way into Ætolia. At the same time Alexander and Dorimachus, having conceived some hopes of being able to take Ægira by surprize, drew together a body of twelve hundred Ætolians to Oenanthia, a city of Ætolia, which stood opposite to the before mentioned city: and having prepared some vessels for their transport, they waited for the proper time to pass the Gulph, and carry their purpose into execution. For a certain soldier, who had deserted the service of the Ætolians, and for some time past resided in Ægira, having remarked that the guards, who were posted at the gate which opened on the side of Ægium, were often drunk with wine, and remiss in all their duty, had frequently importuned Dorimachus, whom he knew to be singularly formed for conducting all such enterprizes, to take advantage of this negligence, and to enter by surprize into the city. Ægira is situated in Peloponnesus, near the Gulph of Corinth, between Syeion and Ægium, upon hills that are rough and difficult of access. It looks towards Parnassus, and the country that is extended round that mountain, on the opposite side of the Gulph; and is distant from the sea, about seven stadia. When the proper time was come, Dorimachus, having embarked his forces, sailed away by night, and cast anchor in the river that ran near the city: and from thence, accompanied by Alexander, and by Archidamus the son of Pantaleon, he directed his march towards Ægira, by the way that led from Ægium. At the same time the Defenter also, who had formed the project, took with him twenty of the bravest soldiers; and having, by some private roads with which he was acquainted, gained the summit of the hills be-

fore the rest, he entered the city through an Aqueduct, and finding all the guards buried fast in sleep, killed them even in their beds, broke the bars of the gates with hatchets, and set them open to the enemy. The Ætolians entered in crouds together, exulting in their success; and began to act, as if the victory had already been their own. But this rash confidence proved afterwards the very cause of safety to the people of Egira, and of destruction to themselves; who were foolishly persuaded, that in order to be masters of a city, it was sufficient only to be within the gates. Under this belief, when they had kept together in a body for some little time in the publick place, as the day began now to appear, they were no longer able to restrain their appetite, but spread themselves through all the city in search of plunder, and forced their way into the houses, to sack and pillage them. Those therefore of the citizens, who saw the enemy in their houses, before they had any notice of their approach, were struck with consternation, and fled in haste out of the city, not doubting but that the Ætolians were already masters of the place. But the rest, to whom the danger had not reached, being alarmed in time by the distant noise, ran together for their defence, and all took their way towards the Citadel. And as their numbers grew continually, so their courage also and their confidence increased: while on the other hand the body of the Ætolians, from which many, as we have said, had fallen away, and dispersed themselves on every side in search of plunder, became more and more disordered and diminished. When Dorimachus therefore perceived the danger to which he was now exposed, having again collected all the troops together, he led them on towards the Citadel; in the hope, that by one bold and vigorous effort he should strike the enemy with terror, and force them instantly to retreat. But the Ægirates, having encouraged each other by mutual exhortations, sustained the charge with the greatest bravery.

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And as the citadel was not fortified by any wall, man with man, every one was engaged in close and single fight. The contest therefore was for some time such as might be expected from the condition of the combatants. For as the one were struggling in the last defence of their children and their country, so the others had no way to escape with safety, but by victory. At last however, the Ætolians were constrained to fly: and the Ægirates, taking care to seize the very moment in which they first began to yield, pressed upon them with such force and fury, that the greater part were thrown down in heaps together at the gate, and were trodden under foot, in the haste and consternation of their flight. Alexander was killed in the action, and Archidamus stifled among the crouds, that pressed to gain their passage through the gate. The rest either fell in that disorder, or were hurried down the precipices, and there lost their lives. A small number only gained their ships, and were saved in a manner the most dishonourable; having thrown away their arms, and carrying nothing back but disappointment and despair. Thus the citizens of Ægira, by their courage and intrepid firmness, recovered again their country, which, through their negligence, they had almost lost.

About the same time Euripidas, who had been sent by the Ætolians to command the forces of the Eleans, made incursions upon the lands of Dyme, Pharæ, and Tritæa; and having gained a very great booty, was preparing to return back again to Elis; when Micus a Dymæan, who was also the Lieutenant of the Achæan Prætor, drew together the troops of all those provinces, with design to pursue the enemy, and harass them in their retreat. But as he advanced without sufficient caution, he fell into an ambuscade, in which forty of his men were killed, and two hundred taken prisoners. Euripidas, elate with this success, again led out his forces within some days afterwards, and made himself master of a fort called Tichos;

Tichos; which was situated near the promontory Araxus in the Dymæan territory, and, as fables relate, was built in ancient times by Hercules; who used it as his citadel and place of arms, in his wars against the Eleans.

The Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, having suffered so considerable a defeat, and dreading likewise, that they should now be exposed to greater danger, since this fort had also fallen into the possession of the enemy, at first sent couriers, to inform the Achaean Prætor of what had happened, and to request some succours; and afterwards, they deputed to him some ambassadors, to urge the same demand. But Aratus not only was unable to procure at this time any foreign troops, because the Achæans had neglected to discharge the stipends that were owing to their mercenaries from the time of the war against Cleomenes, but was in general wholly unskilled to form the measures that were necessary in such conjunctures, and in a word betrayed the greatest want of courage and activity, in all things that related to the affairs of war. From hence it happened, that Lycurgus possessed himself of Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory: and Euripidas, besides his late success, took also Gorgon, a fortress situated in the district of Telphusia.

When the Dymæans therefore, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, perceived that no assistance was to be expected from the Prætor, they resolved, that they would withdraw their share from the common contributions that were raised among the Achaean States, and maintain at their own expence three hundred Foot and fifty Horse, to cover their lands from the incursions of the enemy. But though this measure was perhaps both wise and proper, with respect to their own particular safety and advantage, it is certain, that nothing could be more pernicious to the common interests of the Republick. For by this conduct, they gave not only the example, but furnished also a ready method and pretence, to all that should at any

time be inclined to break the general confederacy, and dissolve the union of the States. Yet it cannot be denied, that in justice the blame must chiefly be imputed to Aratus; whose delays and negligence still frustrated the hopes of those who depended on him for assistance. For though all men, in the time of danger, most willingly adhere to their allies, as long as any succours are to be expected from them; yet on the other hand, when they find that they are deserted by those very friends upon whom they had fixed their hopes, they are then forced to have recourse to themselves alone for safety, and to employ such remedies as are within their power. The Tritæans therefore and the rest may with good reason be excused, for having raised some forces at their own expence, when none could be obtained from the Achæans. But on the other hand, they are greatly to be blamed, that they refused any longer to contribute their proper share, towards defraying the common wants of the Republick. It was just indeed and necessary, that they should pay a due regard to their own immediate safety. But it was also no less reasonable, that they should discharge, as the occasion then required, their duty to the States. And this was rather to be expected from them, not only because, by the laws of the confederacy, they were sure of being again repaid whatever they should advance for the common service, but because they had also born the first and greatest part, in establishing this form of government in Achæa. Such was the state of affairs in Peloponnesus.

In the mean while Philip, having advanced through Thessaly into Epirus, and being joined there by all the forces of the Epirots, together with three hundred slingers from Achæa, and the same number of Cretans also that were sent to him by the Polyrrhenians, continued his march through the province, and arrived upon the confines of the Ambracian territory. If at this time he had passed forwards without delay, and fallen suddenly with so great an army upon the inmost parts of Ætolia,

Ætolia, he might at once have put an end to the war. But having resolved, at the request of the Epirots, to lay siege first to Ambracus, he by that means gave full leisure to the Ætolians, to draw together their forces, and to form the measures that were necessary for their defence. For the Epirots, regarding rather their own particular advantage than the common interests of the allies, and being desirous to get Ambracus into their hands, had pressed the king with the greatest earnestness, that he would endeavour to reduce that place. Their intention was, to recover Ambracia from the Ætolians. But this conquest could never be obtained, but by first gaining Ambracus, and making their attacks from thence against the city. For the place called Ambracus was a fortress of considerable strength, situated in the middle of a marsh, and secured by a wall and outworks. It was only to be approached by one narrow causeway; and commanded intirely both the city of Ambracia, and all the adjoining country. Philip therefore yielded to their request, and having fixed his camp near Ambracus, began to make the necessary preparations for the siege.

But while he was employed in this design, Scopas, having drawn together all the Ætolian forces, directed his route through Thessaly, and made incursions into Macedon. And when he had ravaged all the open country in the district of Pieria, and had gained a very great booty, he continued his march from thence to Dium: and finding the place deserted by the inhabitants, he threw down the walls and all the houses, and razed the Gymnasium to the ground. He set fire also to the porticoes that stood round the Temple; destroyed the sacred offerings, that were designed either as ornaments of the place, or for the use of those who came to celebrate the publick festivals; and broke all the images of the kings. And having thus, in the very beginning of the war, declared himself the enemy of the Gods as well as men, he then returned

turned back again to his country; and, instead of being looked upon with horror on account of these impieties, was on the contrary received by the Ætolians with honours and applause, and regarded as a man, who by his brave and vigorous conduct was able to perform the greatest services to the Republick. For himself, by his discourses, had so highly raised the confidence of all the people, that they were filled with new and eager hopes; and began to be assured, that, after these exploits, no enemy would dare so much as to approach the Ætolians; and that themselves might on the contrary hereafter pillage without resistance, not Peloponnesus only, as they had done in former times, but even Thessaly and Macedon.

When Philip was informed of all the outrages that had been committed in his kingdom, he perceived that he was justly punished, for having yielded to the folly and ambitious spirit of the Epirots. He continued however still to press the siege of Ambracus. But when he had raised causeways in the marsh, and completed all the necessary works, the forces that were in the place were struck with terror, and surrendered to him after forty days. The king dismissed the garrison, which consisted of five hundred Ætolians, upon terms of safety; and gratified the Epirots in their wishes, by leaving the fortrefs in their hands. He then decamped, and continued his march in haste along Charadra, with design to pass the Ambracian Gulph, in that part which was the narrowest, and which lay near the Temple of the Acarnanians called Actium. For this Gulph, which flows from the sea of Sicily, is less than five stadia in it's breadth, at it's first entrance between Acarnania and Epirus. But advancing farther within the land, it spreads afterwards to the breadth of a hundred stadia, and extends in length to about three hundred from the sea. It divides Epirus from Acarnania; leaving the first on the side towards the North, and the latter, on the South. Philip then

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passed the Gulph, in the place which we have mentioned, and continued his route through Acarnania. And having increased his army with two thousand Acarnanian Foot, and two hundred Horse, he came and incamped before Phoetia, a city of Ætolia, and pressed the siege with so great force and vigour, that after two days the garrison, being struck with terror, surrendered upon conditions, and were dismissed with safety. On the following night, five hundred Ætolians, ignorant of what had happened, began their march towards the place. But Philip, having received timely notice of their approach, posted some troops in ambuscade, and killed the greater part as they advanced. The rest were taken prisoners; a very small number only excepted, who saved themselves by flight. He then distributed among the troops an allowance of corn for thirty days, from the stores that had been found in Phoetia: and continuing his march afterwards towards Stratus, he incamped upon the river Achelous, at the distance of ten stadia from the city; and from thence sending out detachments from his army, wasted the whole country at his leisure, and found no resistance.

The Achæans, who were at this time scarcely able to support the burthen of the war, no sooner were informed that Philip was so near, than they deputed to him some ambassadors, to request, that he would advance immediately to their assistance. The ambassadors, when they had joined the king in the neighbourhood of Stratus, discharged their commission to him, agreeably to their instructions: and having represented also to him, how vast a booty might be gained, if he would now invade Elea, they pressed him to transport his forces over to Rhium, and to fall suddenly from thence upon that province.

The king, when they had ended, gave orders that they should not yet depart, and said, that he would deliberate with his friends concerning that which they had proposed: but at
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the same time he decamped, and began his march towards Metropolis and Conope. The inhabitants of Metropolis all left their houses upon his approach, and retired into the citadel. Philip therefore, having first set fire to the city, advanced forwards to Conope. But when he approached the river that ran near the town, and which was distant from it about twenty stadia, a body of Ætolian Cavalry appeared ready to dispute his passage; being persuaded, that they should either intirely stop the Macedonians from advancing, or that the attempt would be attended with considerable loss. But Philip, perceiving their design, gave orders that the Peltastæ should first pass the river in separate divisions, closing all their ranks, and forming that figure which is called the Tortoise. When this was done, and the first cohort had now gained the opposite side, the Cavalry advanced against them and began the combat. But as the Macedonians still stood firm, covering themselves with their shields in every part; and when the second and third divisions, having passed the river also in the same close order, came forwards to support the first; the Ætolians, perceiving that they fatigued themselves in vain, retreated back again towards the city: and from this time these haughty troops were forced to remain quiet behind their walls. The King then passed the river with the rest of the forces: and having wasted all the country without resistance, he arrived near Ithoria, a fortress that was strongly fortified both by art and nature, and which commanded the road along which the Macedonians were obliged to pass. The Ætolians, that were left to guard it, fled from their post, as the king approached: and Philip, being thus master of the place, immediately razed it to the ground. He gave orders also to the foragers, that they should in like manner destroy all the fortresses, that were scattered through the country. Having then gained the end of these defiles, he continued his march slowly forwards; that the army might have leisure to

collect the booty. And when the troops were loaded with supplies of every kind in great abundance, he directed his route towards the Achæan Oeniadæ. But having in his way incamped near Pæanium, he resolved first to make himself master of that city. He repeated therefore his attacks against it without any intermission; and in a short time took the place by storm. Pæanium was a city, not very considerable in size; for it was less than seven stadia in its circuit. But with regard to the houses, walls, and towers, it scarcely was inferior to any of the cities of that country. The King, having razed the walls to the ground, demolished likewise all the houses, and gave orders, that the timber and the tiles should be floated, with the greatest care, across the river to Oeniadæ. The Ætolians at first resolved to hold possession of the citadel of this last city, which was strongly fortified with walls and other works. But as the king approached, they were struck with terror, and retired. Philip, having thus gained this city also, continued his march, and incamped before a fortress in the Calydonian district, called Elæus; which was not only very strong by nature, but was fortified also with a wall, and filled with all the necessary stores of war, which Attalus had sent to the Ætolians not long before. But the Macedonians in a short time took the place by storm: and when they had wasted all the Calydonian territory, they returned back again to Oeniadæ. The king, having then remarked, that this city was situated with very great advantage, as well for other purposes, as because it afforded also an easy passage into Peloponnesus, resolved to inclose it with a wall. For Oeniadæ is situated upon the coast, near the entrance of the Gulph of Corinth, in the very extremity of those confines which divide the provinces of Acarnania and Ætolia. Opposite to it, on the side of Peloponnesus, stands Dyme, with the country that lies round Araxus: and the distance between Oeniadæ and this promontory is so small, that it does not exceed a hundred stadia.

stadia. Philip therefore, having carefully considered all these circumstances, began first to fortify the citadel; and afterwards having raised a wall round the docks and harbour, he resolved to join these also to the citadel; employing in the work all those materials which he had brought with him from Pæanium. But before he had completed this design, he received the news, that the Dardanians, imagining that his intention was to advance forwards into Peloponnesus, had drawn together a numerous army, and were preparing to make incursions into Macedon. Judging it therefore to be necessary, that he should provide without delay for the security of his own proper kingdom, he now sent back the ambassadors of the Achæans; having first assured them, that, as soon as he had repelled this danger, he would lay aside every other project, and employ all his power to assist their State. He then decamped, and returned back again in haste, along the same way by which he had arrived. As he was preparing to pass the Ambracian Gulph, which separates Acarnania from Epirus, he was met by Demetrius of Pharos, who had been defeated in Illyria by the Romans, and had escaped in a single frigate, as we related in the former Book. The king received him favourably; and directed him to sail on to Corinth, and from thence to go, through Thessaly, into Macedon: while himself passed the Gulph, and continued his march in haste through Epirus. But no sooner was he arrived at Pella, than the Dardanians, having received notice from some deserters of his near approach, were struck with terror, and dismissed their army, though they had then advanced very near to the borders of the kingdom. Philip, being informed of their retreat, sent home likewise all the Macedonian troops, to gather in their harvest; and himself went into Thessaly, with design to pass the rest of the summer at Larissa.

At this time it was, that Æmilius returned with conquest from Illyria, and entered Rome in Triumph. About the same

same time Annibal, having taken Saguntum by storm, sent his army into winter quarters. The Romans also, when they had received the news that Saguntum was destroyed, deputed some embassadors to Carthage, to demand that Annibal should be delivered to them; and at the same time chose for Consuls Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and began to make the necessary preparations for a war. We have already given, in the preceding Book, a particular and distinct account of these transactions: and now mention them again, for the sake only of recalling to the reader's view, agreeably to the method which we promised still to observe, the chief events that were coincident with those which are now related.

CHAP. VII.

THUS then was ended the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: and as this also was the time, in which the Ætolians usually elected their chief magistrates, they now chose Dorimachus for their Prætor. As soon as he was invested with this dignity, he assembled the troops in arms, and making an incursion into the upper parts of Epirus, plundered and destroyed the country, with a more than common rage and fury; being much less solicitous to gain any advantage to himself, than to work the greatest mischief that was possible to the Epirots. Arriving at Dodona, he set fire to the porticoes of the Temple, destroyed the votive offerings, and levelled the walls of the sacred edifice with the ground. Thus the Ætolians disdained to be confined within the ordinary limits either of peace or war: pursuing still, in both conjunctures, their own rash and violent designs; and shewing not even the least regard either to the laws of nations, or the established rights and customs of mankind. After this exploit, Dorimachus returned back again to Ætolia.

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The winter was now approaching fast, and no person had expected that the Macedonians would at this time take the field, when Philip, advancing from Larissa, with three thousand Chalcaspides, two thousand Peltastæ, three hundred Cretans, and four hundred of the Royal Cavalry, passed from Thessaly into Eubœa, and from thence to Cynus, and continuing afterwards his route through Bœotia and the Megarisan district, arrived at Corinth in the very depth of winter; having performed his march with so much secrecy and diligence, that the people of Peloponnesus were all ignorant of his approach. He immediately shut the gates of Corinth, and placed guards upon the roads; and sent to invite the elder Aratus to come to him from Sicyon. He wrote letters also to the Prætor of the Achæans, and to the several cities, to appoint the place and time in which he expected to be joined by the troops of the Republick. He then marched away from Corinth, and incamped near Dioscurium in the Phliasian territory.

About the same time Euripidas, who knew not that the king had entered Peloponnesus, began his march from Psophis, with two cohorts of Eleans, some bodies of pirates, and some mercenary troops, amounting in the whole to two thousand and two hundred men, together with two hundred Horse, and advanced by the way of Pheneum and Stymphalus towards Sicyon, with design to waste the country. And having, on that very night in which Philip had incamped near Dioscurium, passed beyond the army of the king, he was ready just to enter the Sicyonian territory on the following day. But some Cretan soldiers, who had left their ranks, and wandered far into the country in search of forage, fell in among the Eleans as they marched. Euripidas, being informed by these that the enemy was near, changed immediately the direction of his route, and, not communicating to any person his knowledge of this accident, marched back again in haste, by
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the way along which he had advanced ; in the hope, that he might be able again to pass beyond the Macedonians, and to possess himself the first of certain mountainous defiles, that were on the other side of the Stymphalian district. The king, who on his part also was wholly ignorant of the arrival of these troops, pursued his first design, and continued his march forwards in the morning, by the way of Stymphalus towards Caphyæ. For this was the city, in which he had desired that the Achæans would meet together in arms. But when the advanced guard of the Macedonian army was just now ready to ascend the hill called Apeaurus, which was distant from Stymphalus about ten stadia, it happened that the foremost troops of the Eleans arrived also upon the same ascent. Euripidas, who, from the intelligence which he had received before, knew what the forces were that now appeared in sight, made haste to avoid the impending danger, and taking with him some few horsemen only, fled through private roads to Psophis. The Eleans, being thus deserted by their Chief, were struck with consternation, and for some time stopped their march, not knowing which way they should turn, or what measures were the best to take. For their officers were at first persuaded, that these were some Achæan forces, that had been drawn together to defend the country. This mistake was occasioned chiefly by the sight of the Chalcaspides, whom they supposed to be the troops of Megalopolis. For in the battle against Cleomenes that was fought near Selasia, the Megalopolitans had all made use of brazen bucklers; having received their arms on that occasion from Antigonus. They retreated therefore, keeping their ranks intire, towards the neighbouring hills; and were still inclined to think, that they were not mistaken in their hopes. But when the Macedonians, as they continued to advance, approached more nearly to their view, they then soon discerned the truth, and, throwing away their arms, began to run with great precipitation.

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But twelve hundred of them were taken prisoners; and the rest either were destroyed by the Macedonian soldiers, or lost their lives among the precipices. About a hundred only escaped by flight. Philip sent away the spoils and prisoners to Corinth; and pursued his route, as he had at first designed. The people of Peloponnesus were all struck with wonder, at an event so strange and unexpected by them: for they now first received the news together, both of the arrival of the King, and also of his victory.

The Macedonians continued their route through Arcadia: and having suffered great fatigue and hardship, as they passed the mountain called Oligyrtus, which was at this time covered deep with snow, they arrived in the night of the third day at Caphyæ. The King, when he had rested here during two whole days for the refreshment of the troops, and being joined also by the younger Aratus with the Achæan forces, so that the whole army now consisted of ten thousand men, again marched forwards, through the Clitorian district, towards Psophis; carrying with him all the machines and ladders, that were found in any of the cities through which he passed.

Psophis is a city of very high antiquity in Arcadia, being acknowledged to have been first built in ancient times by the Azanes. With regard to the whole of Peloponnesus, it is situated near the middle of the country. But with respect to the single province of Arcadia, it stands upon the extreme borders of it, towards the West; and is on that side closely joined to the confines of Elea. It commands with great advantage the whole territory of the Eleans; and was at this time associated to their Republick. Philip, arriving near this place in three days march from Caphyæ, incamped upon the hills that stood opposite to the city, and which afforded a safe and commodious view both of the place itself, and of all the neighbouring country. But when he had seen from hence the advantageous situation and uncommon strength of the city,

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he was for some time in doubt, what resolution he should take. For Psophis, on the side towards the West, is secured by a rapid and impetuous torrent, which descends from the neighbouring hills, and in a short time forms for itself a channel very large and deep, which is not fordable in any place, during the greatest part of the winter season. On the eastern side flows the Erymanthus, a great and rapid river, the Subject of many well-known fables. And this river likewise receives the torrent just now mentioned, which falls into it on the side towards the south. Thus three sides of the city are completely covered by these waters, and guarded against all access. On the fourth side, towards the North, stands a Hill, well fortified and inclosed with walls, and which serves indeed as a Citadel to the city; being perfectly adapted, both by nature and by art, for sustaining the efforts of an enemy. The city itself was also secured by walls of an unusual height, completely built, and fortified with care; and was defended by a garrison of Eleans. Euripidas was also in the place, having saved himself in it from his flight.

When Philip had considered all these circumstances, he was in part inclined to abandon the design which he had formed, to take the city either by storm or siege. But on the other hand, he was no less earnest to persist in the attempt, when he had again reflected upon the manner in which the place was situated. For as much as the Arcadians and Achæans were incommoded by this city, which pressed close upon the very confines of their country, and furnished the Eleans with the power to carry on the war against them with vigour and security, so much on the other hand would they be advantaged by it, if it should now be taken: since it would not only serve to cover their own lands from insult, but might be used also as a Place of arms, from whence they might on their part make incursions into the Elean territory. The king therefore, having at last resolved to persist in his design, gave orders that

that the troops should take their usual repast, and hold themselves in readiness, by break of day. And when the morning came, he passed the Erymanthus, upon the bridge that was across it, without any resistance from the enemy, who were surprized at the attempt, and wholly unprepared against it. He then advanced towards the city in bold and terrible array. Euripidas and the rest were struck with doubt and consternation. For they at first had been persuaded, that the Macedonians would neither attack by storm a city of so considerable strength, nor yet venture on the other hand to engage in a long and regular siege, in so severe a season. They were therefore thrown into great perplexity, and began to fear, that some persons in the city had entered into a secret correspondence with the King. But when no proofs appeared to confirm this apprehension, the greater part ran in haste to defend the walls; while the mercenaries also that belonged to the Eleans advanced through a gate that was above the enemy, with design to fall upon them by surprize. The King, having ordered the ladders to be fixed against the walls in three different parts at once, and divided the Macedonians also into three separate bodies, gave the signal for the attack. The troops then advanced together, and began to scale the city on every side. The besieged for some time maintained their ground with courage, and threw down many of the soldiers from the ladders. But as their store of darts and other weapons, provided only for the present exigency, soon began to fail; and when they also found, that the Macedonians were so far from being deterred by this resistance, that on the contrary no sooner was one man tumbled from the ladders, than the next that followed succeeded without any hesitation to his place; they at last turned their backs, and fled for safety to the Citadel, while the Macedonians entered by the walls. At the same time also the Cretan troops attacked the Elean mercenaries with such vigour and success, that they forced them soon to

throw away their arms, and to fly in great disorder; and having pursued them to the very gate from whence they had made their sally, they entered it together with them. Thus the city was taken at once in every part. The Psophidians, with their wives and children, fled all into the citadel, together with Euripidas, and the rest that were able to escape. The Macedonians, being thus become the intire masters of the city, pillaged all the goods, and took possession of the houses. But those that had retired into the citadel, being destitute of all supplies, resolved to prevent a worse misfortune, by submitting to the King. Having therefore dispatched a Herald, and obtained permission to make a deputation to him, they sent their chief magistrates together with Euripidas, by whose means a treaty was concluded, in which full safety was allowed to all, both citizens and strangers. The deputies then returned, having received orders from the King, that they should all still remain within the citadel, till the army had left the city; lest the soldiers, forgetful of their duty, should be tempted by the hopes of plunder to insult and pillage them.

The King, being forced by the snow which about this time began to fall, to remain for some days in Psophis, assembled together the Achæans, and pointed out to them the strength and commodious situation of the place, and the advantages that might be drawn from it in the progress of the war. He spoke largely also of the affection and warm esteem, which he had conceived for their Republick: and added, that he would now give this city to them; and that in all future times he should be ready to employ his utmost power to gratify their wishes, and seize every occasion to advance their interests. After this discourse, which was received by Aratus and the Achæans with great acknowledgements, he dismissed the assembly, and began his march towards Lasion. The Psophidians then left the citadel, and again took possession of their houses: and Euripidas went away to Corinth, and from thence

thence into Ætolia. The Achæan Chiefs that were present in the place, left the care of the citadel to Proslaus of Sicyon, with a sufficient garrison, and appointed Pythias of Pellene to be Governour of the city. In this manner was ended the siege of Psophis.

The Eleans that were in garrison at Lasion, having been informed of all the circumstances of this conquest, no sooner heard that the Macedonians were advancing fast towards them, than they immediately left the place: and Philip, being thus become master of it upon his first approach, gave this city also to the Achæans, as a farther testimony of his regard for their Republick. He restored Stratus likewise, from whence the Eleans in like manner had retired, to the people of Telphussa, from whom it had before been taken. He then decamped, and arriving at Olympia after five days march, offered sacrifice to the Deity of the place, and feasted the chief officers of his army. And when he had allowed three days for the refreshment also of the troops, he advanced farther into the Elean territory: and having incamped near the place called Artemisium, and from thence sent out detachments from his army to collect the plunder of the country, he afterwards returned again to Dioscurium.

While the Macedonians were employed in ravaging the country, many of the Eleans fell into their hands, but a much greater number fled for safety to the neighbouring towns, and to places that were not easy to be forced. For Elea far exceeds all the other parts of Peloponnesus, both in the number of inhabitants, and in the natural riches also which are there produced. For there are many among this people, who are so fixed in the enjoyment of a country life, and so satisfied with the abundance of which they are possessed, that in the course even of two or of three generations, they are never known to visit the Capital of the province. This affection for the country is chiefly nourished by that high regard, which by
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the constitution of their government is shewn to those that are settled in it. For justice is administered among them in every district; and great pains employed, that they may always be supplied with all things that are necessary to life. The motive that inclined their Legislators first to invent such laws, and to give such attention to their safety, seems partly to have been, that the province was itself of very wide extent; but principally, because the inhabitants lived in ancient times a kind of holy life; when their country, on account of the Olympic Games that were celebrated in it, was regarded by the Greeks as sacred and inviolable, and the people all enjoyed a full repose, secure from danger, and exempted from the miseries of war. But afterwards indeed, when the Arcadians attempted to take Lasion from them, with the lands that lay round Pifa, the Eleans were then forced to have recourse to arms, and to change their former way of life. And since that time, they have not even made the least attempt, to restore their country to those privileges, of which they had been so long possessed; but have still remained in the condition, into which they were thrown by that invasion. But certainly in this respect they have been far from shewing a due regard to their own future interests. For since Peace is that blessing, which we all implore the Gods to give us; since it is that for whose sake we bear to be exposed to every danger; since in a word, among all the things that are esteemed good by men, there is none more generally acknowledged to deserve that name; it surely must be allowed to be a high degree of folly in the conduct of the Eleans, to refuse an acquisition of such value and importance, which they not only might obtain from the States of Greece upon fair and honourable terms, but might hold possession of it also to all future times. Some perhaps may think, that if this people should return again to their former life, they must be exposed to the attempts of every enemy, that should be inclined to violate

violate treaties, and to fall by surprize upon their country. But as this would rarely happen, so the Greeks also would all join together to revenge the insult. And with regard to any private robberies, they might at all times be effectually secured against them; since, by the help of that abundance which the continuance of peace would of necessity bestow, they might with ease maintain some troops of mercenaries, to be employed as occasion should require. But now, from having dreaded dangers that were never likely to arrive, they expose their goods to constant pillage, and their country to perpetual war. I could wish therefore, that these reflections might raise in the Eleans an attention to their proper interests; since they never will find a time more favourable than the present, to recover again an acknowledged confirmation of their rights, from all the States of Greece.

But though these immunities have been long since lost, the people however, as we observed before, still retain some traces of their ancient manners, and especially of their attachment to a country life. Upon the arrival therefore of Philip in the province, great numbers of them were taken prisoners by the Macedonians, and greater still escaped by flight. There was a fortress called Thalamæ, into which the chief part of the people had retired, together with their goods and cattle. The country round it was only to be entered by certain close defiles: and the place itself, besides that it was difficult of all access, was also judged to be impregnable. But the King, being informed of the numbers that had fled together to this fortress, resolved to attempt and hazard every thing, rather than leave his work imperfect. He ordered the mercenaries therefore first to take possession of the posts that commanded the entrance of the passes. And having left behind him in the camp his baggage, with the greater part of all his army, he then marched through the defiles, with the Peltastæ and the light-armed troops, and arrived in sight of the fortress, without

without resistance. The Eleans, who were wholly unprepared to sustain a siege, and unpractised likewise in all the art of war, and who at this time had among them great numbers of the very meanest of the people, were struck with terror at his approach, and immediately surrendered. Among the prisoners were two hundred mercenaries, which Amphidamus, the Prætor of the Eleans, had drawn together from different countries, and had brought them with him to this place. The King, having gained a very great quantity of valuable goods, with more than five thousand slaves, and cattle that scarcely could be numbered, returned again to his camp: and from thence, because the troops were so incumbered with their booty, that they were wholly unfit to engage in any new attempt, he directed his route back to Olympia, and there incamped.

CHAP. VIII.

ABOUT this time Apelles, who, among those that were appointed by Antigonus to be the Guardians of young Philip, was possessed of the greatest sway in all the counsels of the King, formed the base design of reducing the Achæans to the same vile condition as that to which the people of Thessaly were subject. For though the Thessalians were still governed, in appearance, by their own peculiar laws, and seemed on that account to be distinguished from the Macedonians, yet in reality there was no difference between them. For both were equally obliged to yield strict obedience to the Royal orders, and to submit without reluctance to all that was imposed. This man then, having regulated his project in his mind, began first to try the tempers of the Achæans that were now present in the army. He gave permission to the Macedonians, to dispossess them of their Quarters, and defraud them of their booty. And afterwards, he ordered many to be scourged,
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upon the slightest pretexts : and when any of their companions interposed to save them, or shewed any resentment of this treatment, himself conducted them to prison. By these means he was persuaded that the Achæans might insensibly be led to an intire and blind submission ; and think nothing cruel or severe, which at any time they should be forced to suffer by order of the King. And yet he had seen not long before, when he was present in the army of Antigonus, that this very people exposed themselves to every danger, and seemed ready to encounter every hardship with the greatest firmness, rather than fall into subjection to Cleomenes. But some young Achæans, having run together in a body, went and disclosed to Aratus the whole of this design. Aratus, wisely judging that it was necessary to defeat such evils in their first commencement, ran in haste to Philip. The King, when he had heard him, ordered the young men to lay aside their fears ; assuring them, that nothing of this kind should hereafter happen : and at the same time he strictly forbade Apelles to exact any thing from the Achæans, without the knowledge and consent of their own Prætor. In this manner Philip, by his humane and gentle treatment of those that were with him in the camp, as well as by his courage likewise and activity in the field, not only gained the affections of the soldiers, but the favour also and esteem of all the people of Peloponnesus. And indeed we can scarcely find a Prince, more admirably formed by nature, with all those talents that are requisite for enlarging conquests, and sustaining the weight of empire. For he was possessed of a ready and clear discernment ; a happy memory ; a gracefulness, that was peculiar to all his actions ; with such a dignity of aspect, as declared the Monarch, and inspired respect and awe. His activity also in the field was never wearied, and his courage never daunted. By what means afterwards these noble qualities were all destroyed, and from whence it happened, that this Prince, from a mild and gentle Monarch, became at last

a merciless and brutal Tyrant, cannot be explained in few words only. We shall take some occasion therefore more favourable than the present, to examine closely into the causes that produced so wonderful a change.

Philip, having now decamped, continued his route from Olympia towards Pharaa, and from thence advanced to Telphussa, and afterwards to Heræa. In this place he sold his booty, and laid a bridge across the river Alpheus, with design to pass that way into Triphylia. About the same time, Dorimachus the Ætolian Prætor, being pressed by the Eleans to save their country from destruction, sent to their assistance six hundred Ætolians under the command of Phylidas. When this General, arriving in Elea, had joined his troops with the forces that were at that time in the service of the Eleans, five hundred mercenaries, a thousand soldiers of the country, and a body of Tarentines, he from thence directed his march also towards Triphylia. This country, which derives its name from Triphylus a native of Arcadia, is a part of Peloponnesus, lying near the sea, between the provinces of Messenia and Elea. It looks upon the sea of Afric, and is situated in the extremity of all Greece, on the side of the South-west. The towns which it contains, are Samicum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typanæa, Pyrgus, Æpyum, Bolax, Styllagium, and Phrixia. The Eleans, having forced these towns to submit to their Republick, added to them not long afterwards Aliphira likewise; which stood within the limits of Arcadia, and at first was subject to the Megalopolitans. But Alliadas, the Tyrant of Megalopolis, in return for some personal advantages, surrendered it to the Eleans.

Phylidas, having entered this country with his army, sent away the Eleans to Lepreum, and the mercenaries to Aliphira; while himself with the Ætolians, remaining in the neighbourhood of Typanæa, attended to the motions of the Macedonians. Philip, being now disincumbered of his booty, passed the

the Alpheus, which flows close along the city of Heræa, and directed his route to Aliphira. This city is built upon a hill, which is on every side steep and craggy, and more than ten stadia in it's height. Upon the summit stands the Citadel, and a brazen Statue also of Minerva, of a very uncommon size as well as beauty. With what design it first was wrought, and at whose expence; the place from whence it came, and the person by whom it was here fixed and dedicated; are things, that even the inhabitants of the country are not able to explain with certainty. But all acknowledge it to have been the work of Solstratus and Hecatodorus; and regard it as one of the most finished pieces, that ever were produced by those great Artists.

The King, having waited for a day that was serene and bright, commanded the men whose task it was to carry the ladders, to advance first from different parts, with the mercenaries in front to cover them. The Macedonians, divided also into separate bodies, followed close behind; and were ordered, with the rest, to ascend the hill, as soon as the sun should begin to shine. The troops advanced accordingly with great alacrity and vigour; while the Aliphireans ran together in crouds to every side, from whence they saw the Macedonians ready to approach. At the same time the King, with a select body of soldiers, having climbed up certain precipices, ascended unperceived to the suburbs of the Citadel. The signal was now given for the assault; the ladders raised against the walls; and the troops began in every part to scale the city. But the King, having first gained possession of the suburbs, which were left without defence, immediately set fire to them. When those therefore, that were employed in defending the walls against the enemy, saw what had happened, they were seized with consternation; and began to fear, that if the Citadel should be lost, there would then be left to them no resource. They abandoned therefore all their posts,

and fled into the citadel; and thus the Macedonians became masters of the city, almost without resistance. Not long afterwards, a deputation was sent also from the citadel to the King, and the place delivered into his hands, on condition only that the people should be safe.

This conquest struck no small terror into all the people of Triphylia; and forced them to consult together, by what measures they might best preserve their country. About the same time also, Phylidas led away his troops from Typanea, and retired to Lepreum; plundering all the province as he passed. For this was the reward, which the Allies of the Ætolians seldom failed to receive, being either deserted by them in the time of their most pressing need; or else pillaged, and betrayed, and forced to suffer from their confederates and friends, such cruel treatment as could scarcely be expected even from a conquering enemy. As soon therefore as the King approached, the inhabitants of Typanea and of Hypana surrendered their cities to him. The Phialians also, being informed of all that had happened in Triphylia, and having been long desirous to shake off their alliance with the Ætolians, ran together in arms, and took possession of the place in which the Polemarchs were accustomed to assemble. There were at this time some Ætolian Pirates in Phialia, who had fixed their residence in the city, that from thence they might be able to make incursions upon the lands of the Messenians. These men, upon the first appearance of this commotion, had resolved to take arms, and reduce the inhabitants by force. But when they saw that the people all ran together in crowds, and were preparing to make a vigorous resistance, they abandoned their design, and, having obtained conditions for their safety, retired from the place, carrying with them all their baggage. The Phialians then sent some deputies to Philip, and invited him to take possession of their city.

During the time of this transaction, the inhabitants of Lepreum

preum also, having possessed themselves of a certain part of the city, commanded the Eleans, the Ætolians, and the Lacedæmonians, who had likewise joined them, to retire both from the citadel and the city. This demand however was at first intirely slighted. Phylidas still kept his post; and was persuaded, that he should be able to deter the Lepreates from attempting any thing against him. But when he heard that Taurion, with one part of the Macedonian forces, had already gained possession of Phialia, and that the King himself was advancing towards Lepreum with the rest, he began at once to lose all hope, while the Lepreates on the contrary assumed new confidence. And though there were at this time in the place a thousand Eleans, with a thousand pirates and Ætolians; five hundred mercenaries, and two hundred Lacedæmonians; and though the enemy were masters of their citadel; yet so admirable was the spirit, and such the glorious constancy of this people, that they resolved on no account to yield to these invaders; or throw away the hope of being able to defend their country. When Phylidas therefore saw their firmness, and heard also that the Macedonians were just ready to approach, he at last left the city, together with the Lacedæmonians and Eleans. The Cretans, that had joined the troops of Sparta, returned back again to their own country through Messenia; while Phylidas, with the other forces, directed his route towards Samicum. The Lepreates, having thus recovered the intire possession of their country, sent some deputies to Philip, and surrendered their city to him.

As soon as the King was informed of these transactions, he sent the chief part of his army away to Lepreum, while himself, with the Peltastæ and the light-armed troops, pursued the enemy, and, falling upon them in their retreat, made himself master of all their baggage. But Phylidas, having marched with the greatest haste, escaped safe to Samicum. Philip therefore incamped before the place; and, when the rest of his

his forces also had advanced from Lepreum to join him, began to make such preparations, as threatened the inhabitants with the prospect of a siege. But the Astolians and Eleans, being wholly unprepared to sustain a siege, and having nothing, but their hands only, to defend them, were struck with terror, and offered to surrender upon terms of safety: and having obtained permission to leave the city with their arms, they retreated to Elea. After this success, the neighbouring cities all sent their deputies to the King, and submitted to him at discretion. These were, Phrixa, Styllagium, Epyum, Bolax, Pyrgus, and Epitalium. Philip, having thus in the course of six days only reduced the whole province of Triphylia, returned again to Lepreum. And when he had first exhorted the inhabitants to remain steady in their duty, and had placed a garrison in the citadel, he marched away to Heræa with all his forces, leaving to Ladicus an Acarnanian the government of Triphylia. Arriving at Heræa, he there divided the booty among his soldiers: and having taken again the baggage, which he had left behind him in this place, he continued his route from thence to Megalopolis, though it was now the very depth of winter.

While Philip was employed in reducing the cities of Triphylia, Chilon, a citizen of Lacedæmon, who thought that his birth had given him the fairest title to the sovereignty of Sparta, being enraged that the Ephori had slighted his pretensions, and bestowed that dignity upon Lycurgus, resolved to raise some disorders in the State. He flattered himself, that by following only the example of Cleomenes, and tempting the hopes and ambition of the multitude with the prospect of a new division of lands, he should at once draw all the people to his party. Having communicated his intention therefore to his friends, and engaged about two hundred of them to share in the danger with him, he made haste to carry his project into execution. As Lycurgus, and the Ephori
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who had raised him to the kingdom, were the chief obstacles to his design, it was necessary that these should be first removed. He took the occasion therefore, when the Ephori were at supper, and falling upon them by surprize, killed them at their table. Thus that punishment befel them, which was in justice due to their late transactions. For whether we consider the hand by which they fell, or the cause that drew this vengeance down upon them, they may well be thought to have merited their fate.

As soon as this work was finished, Chilon ran in haste towards the house of Lycurgus. But though this Magistrate was then at home, he found means, with the assistance of some friends and neighbours, to retire unperceived, and escaped through private roads to the town that was called Pellene of Tripolis. Chilon, having thus failed in the chief and most important part of his intended enterprize, began to lose all hope. But as there was now no room left to retreat, he advanced into the Forum, killing all his enemies, and calling aloud to his friends to join him; inviting the people also to his party, by those hopes and promises that were just now mentioned. But when the citizens were so far from shewing even the least regard to his pretensions, that on the contrary they began to run together in parties to oppose him, he secretly withdrew, and, passing through Laconia, fled unattended into the Achaean territory. The Lacedaemonians, being at this time also terrified by the near approach of Philip, removed all their stores from the open country, and abandoned likewise the fortress of Athenaeum in the Megalopolitan territory, having first razed it to the ground.

Thus this people, who, from the first establishment of their State under the laws of the wise Lycurgus, had enjoyed the fairest form of government, and flourished in great strength and power, to the time of the battle of Leuctra, began, after that period, gradually to decline from their former fortune,
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and to fall into contempt and ruin. And having long been torn by intestine tumults and commotions, their peace being still disturbed by Agrarian laws, and their citizens driven into banishment, they at last were forced to bow to a subjection of severe and haughty Tyrants, to the time of Nabis, and to yield to all the miseries of the very vilest servitude; those, who in ancient times had been unable to support even the name of slavery. But there are many, who have written very copious accounts of the former condition of this people, and of all their various fortunes: and with regard to the changes that have happened to them, since Cleomenes first subverted the legal constitution of the State, we shall take occasion to relate, in the progress of this History, all those that were of chiefest note, and which best deserve to be remarked.

Philip now decamped from Megalopolis, and taking his route through Tegea, arrived at Argos, and passed the rest of the winter in that city: having obtained among all the Greeks the highest admiration and esteem, as well from his manners and whole deportment, as by those great actions also which he had now performed in war, beyond all that could be expected from a Prince of such tender age. During this time Apelles, who had not yet desisted from his project, was revolving in his mind the measures, by which he might best be able to reduce the Achæans by degrees beneath the Macedonian yoke. As he saw, that Aratus and his Son were likely to prove the greatest obstacles in the way of his design, and that Philip was inclined to pay no small regard to these two magistrates, especially to the eldest of them, not only because he had stood in high esteem and favour with Antigonus, and was a man of great authority among the Achæans, but chiefly on account of his ready talents and profound discernment in all the affairs of government; he judged it to be the first place necessary, that he should frame some contrivance, by which he might destroy their credit with the King. With this view,

having made inquiry after those Achæans, who opposed Aratus in the government, he invited them to come to him from their several cities; and spared no kind of pains or flattery, that might win their favour, and fix them in his interests. He then introduced them all to Philip; having first instructed each of them, to insinuate to the King, that as long as he was guided by the counsels of Aratus, he must be forced, in all things that related to the Achæans, closely to observe the terms of the alliance: but that on the contrary, if he would submit his interests to the care of these new friends, he might soon, with their assistance, become the master of Peloponnesus, and govern the people by his own single will. When Apelles had thus far advanced in his design, his next care was, to obtain, if it were possible, that one of this faction should be elected Prætor of the Achæans; by which means, Aratus would intirely be excluded from the administration of the State. As the time therefore of the election now drew near, he pressed the King, to go himself to Egium, on pretence of marching that way into Elea. Philip yielded his consent: and Apelles, who was likewise present, partly by the force of threatenings, and partly by sollicitation, prevailed at last, though not without great difficulty, and gained the point which he had in view. For Eperatus, a citizen of Phara, was elected Prætor; and Timoxenus, supported by the interest of Aratus, was repulsed.

From Egium the King began his march, and passing through Patra and Dyme, arrived at Tichos; a fortress, situated upon the extreme borders of the Dymæan territory, and which had been taken by Euripidas not long before, as we have already mentioned. The King, having resolved to employ his utmost power to recover again this place for the Dymæans, incamped before it with all his forces. But the Eleans that were posted in it, were struck with terror and surrendered. This fortress was of no great size, being not more than a stadium and half in it's circumference. But the

strength of it was considerable: for the height of the walls was full thirty cubits. Philip restored the place to the Dymeans; and from thence made incursions into the Elean territory. And having wasted all the country, and gained a very great booty, he led his army back again to Dyme.

But Apelles, having thus far accomplished his design, and obtained a Prator of his own election, began now to renew his attacks against Aratus, in order wholly to remove him from the confidence of the King. For this purpose, he had recourse to a Calumny, which was thus contrived. When Amphidamus the Elean General, who had been taken prisoner with the rest that had retired to Thalamae, was conducted to Olympia, he employed the mediation of some friends, to procure admission for him to the King: and when he had gained a time of audience, he displayed in a long discourse the high authority and credit in which he stood among the Eleans, and assured the King, that he could easily engage that people to enter into an alliance with him. Philip, being prevailed on by these promises, immediately released Amphidamus, and sent him to the Eleans; with orders to assure them, that, if they would embrace his friendship, he would restore to them all their prisoners without any ransom, and secure their province against all incursions; and that they still should live in perfect freedom, without garrison or tribute, and enjoy their own form of government. But, how generous soever and inviting these conditions might appear, the Eleans remained unmoved, and rejected all that was proposed.

Apelles seized on this refusal, as a proper ground for the calumny which he now contrived, and carried to the King. He told him, that it might now be seen, how false were those professions of zeal and friendship, with which Aratus and his Son had hitherto deceived him: that in their hearts they were far from being disposed to favour his pretensions, or promote the interests of the Macedonians: that the aversion,
which

which the Eleans had now shewn towards him, was solely to be imputed to their arts and management: that when Amphidamus was sent from Olympia to Elis by the King, they had employed in secret all their pains, to convince him, that it was by no means for the advantage of the people of Peloponnesus, that Philip should become the master of the Eleans: and that from hence alone had sprung that haughtiness, and fierce disdain, with which this people had rejected all his offers, and had resolved to adhere to their alliance with the Etolians, and still sustain the war against the Macedonians.

Philip, when he had heard this accusation, ordered Aratus and his Son to be called before him. Apelles then repeated in their presence all the charge, urging it against them with a bold and threatening confidence. And as the King still kept silence, he added; that since they had shewn themselves so thankless and ungrateful, and had so ill repaid the many favours which they had received from Philip, this Prince had now resolved to call together the Achaean States, and, when he had explained to them the motives of his conduct, to return again to Macedon. But the eldest Aratus, beginning now to speak, besought the King, that he would by no means judge with passion, or give a hasty credit to the things which he had heard, without some previous examination and inquiry: that in every charge especially, that was directed against any of his allies or friends, it was proper first to weigh the evidence with the nicest and most scrupulous care: that such a conduct was not only worthy of a Prince, but of the last importance also, with respect to his own interests and advantage. He desired therefore, that those who had heard these matters, of which Apelles had accused them, might be called to the presence of the King: that Apelles also should attend, with the person from whom he had received his information; and in a word, that, before any complaint was

made to the Achaean States, every method should be tried, by which it was possible to gain a knowledge of the truth. Philip approved of this advice, and having promised to pursue it, he then dismissed them.

Some days afterwards had passed, and Apelles had not yet produced the proofs that were desired, when an accident fell out, which proved of great advantage to Aratus. While Philip was employed in plundering the country of the Eleians, this people, having conceived some suspicion of Amphidamus, resolved to seize, and send him as a prisoner into Aetolia. But Amphidamus gained early notice of their design, and fled at first to Olympia. And being there informed that the King was gone to Dyme, to distribute the booty among his troops, he made haste to join him in that city. As soon as Aratus heard, that this General had escaped from Elis, and was arrived at Dyme, being conscious of his own innocence, he ran to Philip with great alacrity and joy, and requested that Amphidamus might immediately be called before him: that no one better knew the grounds of the charge that had been brought against him, than the man who had been a partner in the secret; and that on the other hand, it clearly was his interest to disclose the truth, since he had now been forced to leave his country on account of his attachment to the King, and had no hopes of safety but in his protection. The King consented to this request, and having ordered Amphidamus to be examined in his presence, he found that the accusation was in all points false. From this time therefore, his affection for Aratus every day increased, and his attachment to him became stronger than before; while Apelles on the contrary sunk low in his esteem. But his mind had been now so long possessed with prejudice, in favour of this Minister, that it forced him still to overlook, upon many occasions, the errors of his conduct.

In the mean while Apelles, not being in any degree deterred

torred by what had happened from persisting still in the same designs, made his next attack against Taurion, who was intrusted with the care of the affairs of Peloponnesus. He charged him however with no kind of crime; but on the contrary spoke largely in his praise; and represented to the King, what great services might be expected from a man of such abilities, if he were present in the camp. But his intention was, to bestow this charge upon some person of his own appointment. For this is one of those new methods, contrived by men of bad designs: to destroy the fortunes of their neighbours, not by detraction, but by praise. An artifice, replete with malignant rancour, and the basest treachery; invented first in the courts of Princes, to be the instrument of jealousy, and sordid avarice; and employed solely to promote the purposes of those, who strive to rise upon the ruins of another. He seized every occasion also that was offered, to censure Alexander, the Captain of the Guards; having resolved to fill this post likewise with another of his own election; and in a word, to change, if possible, the whole disposition which Antigonus had made. For Antigonus, not only while he lived, had governed Macedon and the young Prince himself with the greatest prudence, but left behind him also at his death such wise provisions, as seemed most proper to secure the future ease and safety of the kingdom. He explained to the Macedonians in his Will, the measures which himself had followed in the affairs of government; and prescribed the plan of the administration for the time to come: naming the persons also, to whom he left the conduct of the State, and allotting severally to each his proper post; that he might thus cut off at once all pretence for jealousy, and remove every incitement to sedition. By these directions, Apelles was appointed Guardian to the Prince; Leontius, General of the Infantry; Megaleas, the chief Secretary; Alexander, Captain of the Guards; and Taurion, the commander to preside in Peloponnesus.

ponnesus. Among these, Leontius and Megaleas were already in all points devoted to Apelles. The great object therefore of his present care, was to remove Taurion and Alexander from their posts; by which means, the whole administration of the government would fall into his own hands intire, or into the hands of those who possessed his confidence. And this design must soon have been accomplished, if he had not raised against himself an enemy in Aratus. But that wrong policy defeated all his measures; and drew after it the punishment, that was justly due to his imprudence and insatiable ambition: so that within a short time afterwards, he was himself involved in those calamities, which he had prepared for others. In what manner this misfortune happened to him, we shall at present forbear to mention, having brought this Book to it's conclusion. But in that which follows, we shall take occasion to give a clear account of this event, with all the circumstances that attended it. Philip, after these transactions which we have now related, returned to Argos, to pass the winter there together with his friends, and sent the forces back to Macedon.

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Fifth. CHAP. I.

THE year of the Prætorship of the younger Aratus was just now ended with the Rising of the Pleiades: for in this manner the Achæans computed the course of time. This Magistrate therefore resigned his office, and was succeeded by Eperatus. Dorimachus was Prætor of the Ætolians. About the same time Annibal, as the summer now approached, having declared without reserve his intention to make war against the Romans, led his forces from New Carthage, passed the Iberus, and continued his march towards Italy: while the Romans sent on their part Tiberius Sempronius with an army into Afric, and Publius Cornelius into Spain. At the same time also Ptolemy and Antiochus, who both claimed the sovereignty of Cœlesyria, having lost all hope of being able to settle their pretensions by embassies or treaties, prepared to end the dispute by arms.

Philip,

Philip, beginning now to be in want both of provisions and of money to support his troops, desired the Achaean Magistrates to give orders for assembling the Council of the States. But when these were met together at Egium, according to the laws of the Republick, the King, perceiving that Aratus, stung with the disgrace which he had received in the late Election through the bad practices of Apelles, was inclined rather to oppose than advance his service, and that on the other hand, Eperatus was by nature destitute of all those talents that are requisite for the conduct of affairs, and was also held in great contempt by all, was then fully sensible of the folly of those measures, which Apelles and Leontius had engaged him to pursue, and resolved to recover again the confidence and favour of Aratus. He prevailed therefore with the magistrates to remove the Assembly of the States to Sicyon; and having there addressed himself in private both to the elder and the younger Aratus, and charged Apelles with the blame of all that had been transacted, he pressed them to resume their former sentiments. To this request they both readily consented: and the King, through their pains and influence, obtained afterwards from the Assembly the full accomplishment of all that he desired. For by the decree that now was made, the States engaged to pay to him fifty Talents, on the day when he should first begin his march; to furnish three months stipend for the troops, with ten thousand measures of corn; and to pay also seventeen talents monthly, during his stay in Peloponnesus. After these resolutions, the Assembly separated; and the Achaeans returned again to their several cities.

The King, when he had drawn all the troops together from their winter quarters, and had held a consultation with his friends, resolved now to carry on the war by sea. For as by this method he might himself be able to fall suddenly upon his enemies from every side, so these on the other hand must wholly

wholly lose the power of sending any assistance to each other; separated, as they were, in remote and distant provinces, and alarmed by apprehensions for their own particular safety, against an enemy to whose motions they would then be strangers, and whose descent upon their country might be made with no less celerity than secrecy: for the people, against whom he was now engaged, were the Ætolians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Eleans. Being fixed therefore in this design, he drew together to Lechæum all the vessels that belonged to the Achæans, together with his own; and gave orders that the soldiers should be employed continually in the exercise of the oar. The Macedonians submitted to the task with the greatest promptness and alacrity. For these troops, whose courage in the field stands firm against every danger, are not less useful and intrepid upon the sea, whenever occasion demands their service. Active also, and inured to the perpetual toil of digging trenches, and of fortifying camps, they reject no kind of military labour; but are on the contrary, as Hesiod writes of the Æacidæ, “more pleased with Battles than with Feasts.”

But while Philip and the Macedonians were thus busy in completing all the naval preparations, Apelles, perceiving that the King was no longer governed by him as before, and being unable to support the loss of his authority, formed secretly an engagement with Leontius and Megaleas, by which it was agreed, that these two, still remaining near the King, should be ready, as occasion served, to frustrate all his counsels, and obstruct his measures; and that himself in the mean while would go to Chalcis, and take care to stop all supplies, that were expected to come that way. When this wicked project was thus concerted, Apelles, having by some false pretences obtained permission to depart, went accordingly to Chalcis: and there, with the help of that authority, which had grown from his former credit with the King, he so well performed

performed his part in this base and treacherous engagement, that Philip was at last reduced to an intire want of necessaries, and forced even to set his Plate in pawn, in order to procure a subsistence from it.

As soon as the fleet was ready, and the troops all perfect in their exercise, the King, having first distributed some corn and money among his army, sailed out to sea, and arrived in two days at Patræ. The forces that were with him were six thousand Macedonians, and twelve hundred mercenaries. About the same time, Dorimachus, the Ætolian Prætor, sent away five hundred Neocretans, under the command of Agelaus and Scopas, to the assistance of the Eleans. The Eleans also, being apprehensive that Philip would attempt to besiege Cyllene, drew together some troops of mercenaries; trained the forces of the country; and fortified the place with care. Philip therefore, having been informed of all these preparations, resolved to leave in Dyme the Achæan mercenaries, with the Cretans; some Gallic Horse; and two thousand men, selected from the infantry of the Achæans: as well to support himself, if there should be occasion for it, as to cover and secure the country against the attempts of the Eleans. And having sent his orders to the Messenians, the Epirots, Acarnanians, and to Scerdilaidas, that they should complete the equipment of their vessels, and join him at Cephallenia, he then sailed away from Patræ to that island at the time appointed, and cast anchor near a little town called Proni. But because the country round it was close and difficult, and the place not easy to be invested, he continued his course forwards to Palæa, and perceiving that this part of the island was full of corn, and promised a plentiful subsistence to his army, he disembarked his forces, and there incamped. And having drawn his ships to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, he sent away the troops to gather in the corn; while himself surveyed the city from every side, in order to discover

discover in what manner he might best advance his works, and plant his machines against it: designing, when the allies had joined him, to use his utmost efforts to become master of the place. For by this conquest, as the Ætolians would on the one hand be deprived of a place that was of great importance to them; since their custom was, to make descents from hence, in Cephallenian vessels, upon the coasts of Peloponnesus, Acarnania, and Epirus; so on the other hand, the King and his allies, when they had gained this post, might fall with great advantage upon the country of their enemies. For Cephallenia lies opposite to the Corinthian Gulph, extending towards the sea of Sicily. It joins closely upon the north and western coasts of Peloponnesus, being nearest to Elea; and looks also towards the south and western sides of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. The King therefore, perceiving that the island was situated with so great advantage, as well for assembling the allies, and covering all their lands from insult, as for invading also the provinces of the enemy, was impatient to attempt the conquest of it. And because Palæa was almost every way secured by precipices, or the sea; and was only to be approached by a small and narrow Plain, that looked toward Zacynthus; he resolved to advance his works upon that side only, and to fix there the whole business of the siege.

While Philip was thus employed, in forming the measures that were necessary for the attack, he was joined by fifteen vessels, sent by Scerdilaidas; who was prevented from sending any greater number, by some commotions that had happened in Illyria, among the Chiefs of the country. The Epirots also joined him, together with the Acarnanians, and Messenians. For as Phigalea now was taken from the Ætolians, the Messenians had no longer any pretence for refusing their assistance in the war.

When all things were ready for the siege, and the Balistæ and the Catapults disposed in every place, from whence they might with best success repel the efforts of the enemy, the King, having exhorted the Macedonians to be strenuous in their duty, ordered them to approach the walls, and to open a mine, under cover of the machines. The Macedonians pursued their task with so great diligence and ardour, that the walls were in a short time undermined to the length of about five hundred feet. Philip then approached the city, and pressed the inhabitants to accept conditions from him. And when his offers were rejected, he set fire to the timber that supported that part of the wall which was undermined. The wall immediately fell down; and the Peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, being divided into cohorts, were ordered to force their way through the breach, and to storm the city. But this General, remembering the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, though three young soldiers had already passed the breach, stopped them from advancing, and would not suffer the city to be taken. And as he had before corrupted also the chief among the Officers, and himself at this time likewise, instead of leading on the troops with vigour to the charge, appeared struck with consternation, and spread his fears into the rest, the Macedonians were at last repulsed, though they might without much difficulty have made themselves masters of the place. The King, when he perceived the cowardice of the Generals, and that many of the soldiers also were disabled by their wounds, was forced to raise the siege, and to deliberate with his friends concerning the measures that were next to be pursued.

About this time, Lycurgus entered the province of Messenia with an army; while Dorimachus, with one half of the Ætolian forces, made an incursion also into Thessaly: being persuaded, that by this diversion, they should draw away the Macedonians

Macedonians from Palæa. The Acarnanians and Messenians, alarmed by the approach of the enemy towards them, sent some deputies to the King, and intreated him to raise the siege. The Acarnanians pressed him to remove the war at once into Ætolia, and thus, by wasting all the country, which was now left without defence, to constrain Dorimachus to return again, before he had entered Macedon. The Messenians on the other hand importuned him with no less earnestness, to march to the assistance of their country; representing to him, that as the Etesian winds had now begun to blow, he might pass in one day's sailing from Cephallenia to Messenia, and fall upon Lycurgus, before he could receive any notice of his approach. This was the advice which was urged by Gorgus, the chief of the Messenian Deputies. Leontius also, pursuing still his first design, supported it with all his strength: being well assured that no measures could more effectually obstruct the progress of the war. For it was easy indeed to transport the army to Messenia: but it was not possible to return again till the season of these winds was passed. The Macedonians therefore, confined within the limits of that province, must have been forced to waste the whole summer in inaction; while the Ætolians on the other hand might have plundered Thessaly and Epirus, and destroyed all the country at their leisure. So pernicious were the counsels, which these men recommended to the King.

But Aratus, who was present, opposed this sentiment; and advised the King to advance without delay into Ætolia; since, while Dorimachus was absent with the forces, it would be easy to run through all the province, and to plunder it without resistance. Philip, who before was much dissatisfied with Leontius, on account of his ill conduct in the siege, and who began also to suspect some treachery, from the advice which this minister had so warmly urged with respect to the course that was now most proper to be taken, resolved to yield to the

the opinion of Aratus. He sent orders therefore to Eperatus, that he should draw together the Achæan forces, and march to the assistance of the Messenians: while himself steered away from Cephallenia with the fleet; and, after two days sailing, arrived at Leucas in the night. From thence, having before made all things ready for his design, he passed his vessels over the neck of land called Dioryctus into the Ambracian Gulph, which, as we have already mentioned, flows from the sea of Sicily, and enters far into the inland parts of Acarnania. He then steered his course up the Gulph; and arriving at Limnæa before break of day, gave orders that the soldiers should take their usual repast, and leave behind them likewise all their heavy baggage, that they might not be incumbered in their march. He called together also all the Guides; and informed himself with great exactness of the nature of the country, and of the strength and situation of the neighbouring cities.

In this place he was joined by Aristophantus the Prætor of the Acarnanians, with all the forces of the country. For the people of this province had long wished with the greatest earnestness for some occasion to revenge the insults which they had in former times received from the Ætolians. As soon therefore as the King arrived, they all took arms: not those alone that were obliged to it by the laws, but many also of the older men, whose age had exempted them from service. The Epirots, who had also been exposed to the same injurious treatment from the Ætolians, were on their part animated likewise with the same resentment. But because the arrival of the King was sudden, and their country also of great extent, they wanted the leisure that was necessary for assembling together the forces of the province. With regard to the Ætolians, Dorimachus, as we have already mentioned, had taken with him one half of their troops; being persuaded that the rest would be sufficient to defend the country, in his absence, against all surprize.

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The King, having left his baggage behind him with a proper guard, began his march from Limnæa, in the evening; and when he had gained the distance of about sixty stadia, he ordered the troops to take their supper: and having allowed a short time also for their repose, he again set forwards, and continuing his march all night, arrived before break of day upon the river Achelous, between Stratus and Conope. His intention was, to fall suddenly upon the place called Thermum, before the inhabitants could be able to receive the news of his approach. Leontius clearly saw, that this design must inevitably be attended with success, and that all the efforts of the enemy would be vain and useless. For besides that the arrival of the Macedonians was so quick and unexpected, the Ætolians also, having never entertained the least suspicion, that the King would throw himself with so great confidence into the very middle of a country that was strong and difficult, were wholly unprepared to resist a danger, of which they had conceived no apprehensions. Reflecting therefore upon these two circumstances, and being constant to the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, he pressed the King to incamp upon the river Achelous, that the troops, who had marched all night, might enjoy some rest, and be recovered again from their fatigue. His intention was, that the Ætolians might from thence gain time to make the preparations that were necessary for their defence. But Aratus on the other hand, well knowing how soon, in all such enterprizes, the favourable moment might be irrecoverably lost, and perceiving also that the purpose of Leontius was plainly to obstruct the progress of the war, urged the King to proceed without delay, and not suffer the occasion to escape. Philip, who was already much displeased with the whole conduct of Leontius, approved of this advice; and having passed the river, continued his route in haste towards Thermum, burning and destroying the country as he marched. Leaving

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on the left hand Stratus, Theſſia, and Agrinium; and on his right, Gonope, Lyſimachia, Trichonium, and Phœteum; he arrived at a town called Metapa, which was ſituated in the entrance of thoſe paſſes, that led along the lake Trichonis, and was diſtant from Thermum about ſixty ſtadia. The Ætolians fled from the place, upon his approach, and the King poſted in it a body of five hundred men; as well to cover his entrance, as to ſecure alſo his retreat back again through the paſſes. For the country that lay along the borders of the lake, was rough and mountainous, and covered all with woods, ſo that the paſſage through it was extremely cloſe and difficult. Philip entered the defiles; placing in his Van the mercenaries, behind theſe the Illyrians, and after them the ſoldiers of the Phalanx. The Cretans cloſed the rear. The Thracians and the light-armed forces were diſpoſed upon the Right, and marched with equal pace, but at ſome diſtance from the main body. The left was covered by the lake, to the length of thirty ſtadia. Having gained the end of the defiles, they came to a village that was called Pamphia. The King, when he had poſted a body of troops in this place alſo, continued his march forwards, towards Thermum, through a road that was not only very ſteep and rough, but ſurrounded on all ſides likewiſe by lofty precipices, ſo that in many parts it was not to be paſſed without great danger. The whole height alſo of the aſcent was almoſt thirty ſtadia. But the Macedonians purſued their way with ſo great diligence and vigour, that they ſoon gained the ſummit, and arrived at Thermum, while it was yet full day. The King fixed his camp near the city, and from thence ſent away the troops to ravage all the villages, and neighbouring plains. They pillaged the houſes of the city likewiſe; which were not only filled with corn, and every kind of neceſſaries, but with great quantities of rich and coſtly furniture. For as this was the place, in which the Ætolians celebrated every year their Games

Games and Markets, and held also their Assemblies for electing Magistrates, they always laid up in it the most valuable of all their goods, for the use of these solemnities, and the more splendid reception of their guests. They were persuaded likewise, that their riches could no where be deposited in a place of greater safety. For such was the strength and situation of this city, that it was considered as the Citadel of all Ætolia. And indeed before this time, no enemy had ever ventured to approach it. The long peace also, which the country had enjoyed, had afforded both the leisure and the means to heap together all that various wealth and plenty, which now filled the houses that were round the temple, and all the neighbouring parts.

The Macedonians, having gained an immense booty in the evening, reposed themselves in their tents. On the following day, they selected from the plunder whatever was of greatest value, and most easy to be removed; and burned the rest in heaps before the camp. They took likewise all the arms that were fixed round the porticoes of the temple, and reserving the most splendid of them as their prize, exchanged some others also for their own. The rest, which were in number more than fifteen thousand, were all consumed in fire. Thus far nothing had been done, that was contrary to justice, or repugnant to the laws of war. But what censure must we pass on that which followed? Urged by the remembrance of those cruel ravages, which the Ætolians had committed at Dium and Dodona, they now set fire to the Porticoes of the temple, and destroyed the Votive Offerings; among which there were some, that were the work of most exquisite art, and finished at a great expence. Nor were they satisfied with burning the roofs only of the sacred edifice; but even razed the Temple to the ground. They threw down also all the Statues, which were not fewer than two thousand; breaking many of them in pieces; and sparing those alone, that bore

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the names, or the resemblance, of the Gods. They then wrote upon the walls that celebrated Verse, which was one of the first productions of the dawning genius of Samus the Son of Chryfogonus, who was the Foster-brother of the Kings.

Remember Diu: thence this Shaft was sped.

The King himself, and those that were about him, promoted all this violence with a kind of frantick zeal and fury: being persuaded, that it was no more than a just and suitable retaliation and revenge, for those impieties which the Aitolians had before committed. But in my judgement, their conduct upon this occasion is very greatly to be blamed. Whether my sentiments are just or not, may be judged from those examples, which may be found in the same Royal House of Macedon. When Antigonus, after he had defeated Cleomenes in battle, and forced him to leave his kingdom, became master of Sparta, so that the city and the vanquished Citizens were wholly in his power; he was so far from treating them with any kind of rigour or severity, that on the contrary he established them again in perfect freedom, and restored to them their laws and ancient government: and when he had displayed his generosity and clemency, as well in many particular instances, as in the favours also which he conferred in general upon their State, he returned back to Macedon. From this conduct, he was then called the Benefactor, and after his death, the Saviour of that people; and gained immortal fame and honour, not only among the Lacedæmonians, but from all the States of Greece. That Philip also, who first enlarged the bounds of the Macedonian Empire, and spread wide the splendour of this House, when he had defeated the Athenians in the Fight of Chæroneia, obtained much more by his humane and gentle conduct after the victory, than he had gained by his arms. For by these, he subdued indeed the enemies that were in arms

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against him : but by his gentleness and moderation, he vanquished all the Athenians, and forced Athens itself to receive his laws. Instead of making his resentment the rule and measure of his conquests, he on the contrary pursued his victories no longer, than till he had found a fair occasion to display his clemency and his love of virtue. He restored the prisoners therefore without any ransom ; allowed the rites of funeral to the soldiers that had fallen in battle ; sent Antipater to Athens with their bones ; and gave habits also to the greater part of those that were released. And thus, by his wise and dexterous conduct, he accomplished with a small expence the greatest purposes. For the haughty spirit of the Athenians was so perfectly subdued by this generous treatment, that from enemies, they were changed at once into the most zealous and hearty friends, ready to favour all his interests, and to assist in his designs. What again was Alexander's conduct upon a like occasion ? Incensed as he was in so high a degree against the people of Thebes, that he ordered all the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, and the city to be levelled with the ground, yet so far was he from neglecting that duty which he owed the Gods, that on the contrary he employed the greatest care, that no offence should be committed, even through accident, against the temples, or other consecrated places. At the time of his expedition likewise into Asia, to revenge the atrocious insults which the Persians had committed against the States of Greece, he punished the people indeed with such severity as their crimes demanded ; but spared the places that were dedicated to the Gods : though the Persians on the contrary, when they invaded Greece, had made all these the special objects of their rage.

Such then was the conduct, which Philip should have kept continually in view ; and have made it clear to all mankind, that he inherited not the kingdom only, but the generous disposition also, and heroick greatness of his ancestors. But

though he at all times employed great pains, that men should know that he was allied in blood to Alexander and to Philip, he never shewed the least sollicitude to emulate their virtues. His reputation therefore, as he advanced in age, was as different from the fame which these Princes had enjoyed, as his manners and his life were different. This difference was clearly seen in the instance of his present conduct. Blinded by resentment, he thought it no crime to repay the devastations, which the Ætolians had committed, with the like impious outrages, and thus to remedy one evil by another. In every place, and upon every occasion, he was eager to reproach Dorimachus and Scopas with all the violence and horrid sacrilege, of which they had been guilty at Dium and Dodona: but seemed never to have apprehended, that while he was pursuing the same impious course, the same censure likewise must fall upon himself. For though by the established laws of war, it is not only just but necessary, to destroy citadels and cities, ships and harbours, the fruits also of a country with the inhabitants, in order to weaken the strength and power of our enemies, and to increase our own; yet on the other hand, when men extend their fury to those objects, whose destruction neither can procure the least advantage to themselves, nor any way disable their opponents from carrying on the war against them; when they burn especially the temples of the Gods, break all their Statues, and destroy their Ornaments; what must we say of such a conduct, but that it is the mere effect of an intire depravity of manners, the work of senseless rage and madness? For the design of making war, among those at least that are of a virtuous disposition, is by no means to exterminate the people from whom they have received an injury; but to lead them only to a change of conduct, and to engage them to amend their faults: not to involve the innocent and the guilty in the same perdition, but rather to exempt them both from ruin. To this we may also add, that
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it is the part of a Tyrant only, who hates his subjects, and is hated by them on account of his wicked actions, to exact by force and terror a reluctant and constrained obedience; while a King, who is wise and moderate in his conduct, humane and generous in his manners, obtains the hearts of all his people, who regard him as their friend and benefactor, and submit with cheerfulness to his commands.

But in order to conceive in the clearest manner the whole extent of that mistake which Philip now committed, let us consider, what would have been the sentiments of the Ætolians, in case that he had pursued a different conduct; and had neither burned the porticoes, broken the Statues, nor destroyed any of the offerings that were round the temple. For my own part, I am persuaded that they must have regarded him as a most humane and virtuous Prince. Conscious as they were of all those outrages, which they had committed at Dium and Dodona, and knowing also that Philip had at this time all things in his power, and that, in treating them with the last severity, he would have done no more, with regard to themselves at least, than what was just and reasonable, they must surely have considered his moderation in this respect as a noble effort of a great and generous mind. In this view, while they condemned their own proceedings, they on the other hand, would have bestowed on Philip the highest admiration and applause; whose virtue, so worthy of a King, had taught him not only to preserve the duty which he owed the Gods, but to set bounds also to his own just resentment. And indeed to conquer enemies by generosity alone and justice, is far more advantageous, than any victory that is gained by arms. For the submission of men to these arises wholly from necessity and force; to the former, it is free and voluntary. The conquest also in the one case is often very dearly purchased: but in the other, the offenders are prevailed upon to return again to a better conduct, without any expence or loss. And what

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is still of greater moment, the subjects must be allowed to claim the chief part of the success that is obtained by arms; whereas the Prince alone reaps all the glory of a victory that is gained by virtue.

But some perhaps may think, that as Philip was at this time extremely young, he ought not in justice to be charged with all the guilt of these transactions; but that the blame should chiefly be imputed to those that were the nearest in his confidence, especially to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos. Now with regard to these, it is no hard task to judge, even though we were not present at their deliberations, which of the two it was, that urged the King to all this violence. For besides that Aratus, in every action, was distinguished by his caution and deliberate judgement, while Demetrius on the contrary was no less noted for his imprudence and precipitate rashness; there happened afterwards an instance not unlike the present, from which we shall be able to discern beyond all doubt, what must have been, upon such occasions, the sentiments and conduct of these two persons. But this must be reserved for its proper place. We now return from this digression.

G H A P. II.

THE King, taking with him every thing that could be carried or removed, began his march back again from Thermum, by the same way by which he had arrived: placing at the head the booty, with the heavy-armed forces; and the Acarnanians with the mercenaries in the rear. He resolved to pass through the defiles with the quickest haste: not doubting but that the Aetolians would take advantage of the difficulty of the way, and fall upon him in his retreat. And this indeed soon happened. The people had met together in arms, to the number of about three thousand men, under

the command of Alexander of Trichonium. While the King remained upon the eminencies, they kept themselves at distance, and lay concealed in obscure and covered places. But as soon as the Rear of his army had begun to move, they entered Thermum, and from thence advanced, and fell upon the hindmost troops. The mercenaries that composed the rear, were thrown by this attack into no small confusion: while the Ætolians, perceiving the disorder, and being emboldened by the advantage of the ground, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before. But Philip, having foreseen this accident, had taken care, as he descended, to post behind a certain hill a body of Illyrians, with some select men from the Peltaſtæ: and these, now falling suddenly upon the enemy, who had advanced beyond them, and were following the pursuit with eagerness, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and took almost an equal number prisoners. The rest fled with great precipitation, and escaped through difficult and unfrequented roads. After this success, the Rear, setting fire to Pamphla as they marched, passed the defiles with safety, and joined the rest of the army, who were incamped near Metapa, expecting their arrival. The King razed this city to the ground, and the next day advanced to a town called Acræ. On the following day, he again decamped, and wasting all the country as he passed, arrived near Conope, and rested there during one whole day. He then continued his march along the river Achelous towards Stratus. And having passed the river, he for some time stopped his march, at a distance that was beyond the reach of the darts, and offered the troops that were within the city the opportunity of a battle. For he had heard, that three thousand Ætolian Infantry, and four hundred Horse, together with five hundred Cretans, had thrown themselves into the place. But when they all remained close behind the walls, he continued again his route towards Limnæa, where his vessels lay. But scarcely had the hindmost

most troops passed beyond Stratus, when some of the Ætolian Cavalry sallied out, and began to disturb the rear. These at first were but few in number: but as they soon were followed by a part also of their Infantry, and the Cretan forces, the battle then grew warm, and the troops that were in march were forced to face about, to repel the enemy. The contest was for some time equal. But when the Illyrians were ordered also to return, and support the troops that were engaged, the Ætolians, both Infantry and Cavalry, turned their backs, and fled together in great disorder. The King followed closely even to the very gates, and killed about a hundred of them. After this attempt, the Ætolians remained quiet within the city, while the Rear pursued their march with safety, and joined the rest of the army, and the vessels.

The King, being now incamped at ease, made a solemn sacrifice of thanks to the Gods, for the success of his late enterprise, and invited his officers to a Feast. For all men had considered it as an attempt of the greatest hazard, that he should thus throw himself into a country of such uncommon strength and difficulty, and enter places into which no troops before had ever dared to penetrate. Yet Philip not only entered them without any loss, but accomplished likewise all that he designed, and had brought his army back again with safety. His joy therefore was extreme; and in this disposition, he prepared to celebrate his banquet.

But Leontius and Megaleas beheld this happy fortune with no small affliction and concern. Faithful still to their engagement with Apelles, they had employed every art, to obstruct the war, and frustrate all the counsels of the King. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that on the contrary, this Prince had now obtained the utmost of his wishes. They came however to the Banquet; but with hearts so filled with heaviness, that the King, with the rest that were present with him, began immediately to suspect,

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that they were strangers to the general joy. And indeed when in the progress of the feast the guests all had drunk to great excess, and these also were compelled to fill their glasses with the rest, they at last threw aside the mask, and shewed their sentiments without disguise. For no sooner was the banquet ended, than, their reason being disordered, and their senses lost in wine, they ran every way to seek Aratus. And having found him returning from the feast, after many insults and reproaches they assaulted him with stones. A party soon was formed on either side; and the disorder began to spread through all the camp. The King being alarmed by the noise, sent some persons to inquire into the causes of it, and to compose the tumult. Aratus related to them the fact as it had happened; appealed to the testimony of all that had been present; and then withdrew to his tent. Leontius also found some means to slide away unnoticed through the croud. But Megaleas and Crinon were conducted to the King; who, when he had heard the account of what had passed, reprimanded them with great severity. But so far were they from being humbled by it to any degree of submission or acknowledgement, that on the contrary they added an aggravation to their fault, and told the King, that they never would desist from their design, till they had taken full vengeance upon Aratus. The King, being greatly incensed by this daring insolence, immediately condemned them to pay a fine of twenty Talents, and commanded them to be led away to prison. And on the following day having ordered Aratus to be called, he exhorted him to take courage; and assured him, that the authors of this disorder should be punished with due severity.

When Leontius was informed of what had happened to Megaleas, he took with him a body of the Peltastæ, and went, thus attended, to the tent of the King: being persuaded that he should easily intimidate this young Prince, and

force him to recall his orders. Being admitted therefore to his presence, he demanded, "who it was that had been so bold, as to lay hands upon Megaleas? and, by whose orders he was sent to prison?" The King replied intrepidly, "By mine." Leontius was then struck with terror; and muttering to himself some threats, retired.

The King now sailed away with all the fleet, passed the Gulph, and arrived in a short time at Leucas. And when he had given orders to the proper officers, to make a distribution of the booty among the troops, he called together his friends, to pass judgement on Megaleas. Aratus, who was present as the accuser, ran through the whole administration of Leontius and his friends. He charged them with some flagrant murders that were committed by their orders, after Antigonus had retired from Greece. He laid open the engagement into which they had entered with Apelles; with the manner also in which they had defeated the King's designs, when he attempted to take by storm the city of Palæa. In a word, he shewed the guilt of these transactions with so much clearness, and supported all that he affirmed by such convincing evidence, that Crinon and Megaleas, unable to refute the charge, were with one voice condemned. The former was still detained in prison. But Leontius offered himself as surety, for the fine that was imposed upon Megaleas. Such was the unexpected issue of the treacherous project into which these men had entered. They had persuaded themselves that it would be an easy thing to remove Aratus by some violence; and when the King was thus left destitute of friends, that they might afterwards pursue such measures, as their own interests should require. But the Event proved opposite to all their hopes.

During this time, Lycurgus had been forced to abandon the Messenian territory, without performing any action of importance. But some time afterwards, he again took the field, and made himself master of the city of Tegea. He attempted also

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to reduce the citadel, into which the inhabitants had all retired. But after some fruitless efforts, he was constrained to raise the siege, and to return back again to Sparta.

The Eleans made also an incursion into the Dymæan territory: and having drawn into an ambuscade some Cavalry that was sent against them, they defeated them with little difficulty; killed many of the mercenaries; and among the forces of the country, took prisoners also Polymedes of Ægium, and Agefipolis and Megacles, citizens of Dyme.

Dorimachus, as we before have mentioned, had advanced into Thessaly with the Ætolians: being persuaded, that he not only might be able to ravage all the country without resistance, but should also draw away the King, by this diversion, from the siege of Palæa. But when he saw that Chrysogonus and Petraeus had brought together an army to oppose him, he never dared to descend once into the plain, but continued his route close along the sides of the mountains. And no sooner was he informed, that the Macedonians had entered the Ætolian territory, than he immediately abandoned Thessaly, and returned in haste back again, with design to defend his country. But he was wholly disappointed in that hope: for the enemy had left the province before he was able to arrive.

Philip now sailed away from Leucas, and, having wasted the coast of the Hyanteans as he passed, arrived at Corinth with all the fleet, and cast anchor in the harbour of Lechæum. He there disembarked his army; and when he had first sent letters to the confederate cities of Peloponnesus, to appoint the day, in which their forces should be ready in arms, and join him at Tegea, he immediately began his march towards that city with the Macedonians, and taking his route by the way of Argos, arrived there on the second day: and being joined by such of the Achæan forces as were then assembled in the city, he continued his march along the mountains, with de-

sign to fall upon the Lacedæmonian territory, before the people could receive any notice of his approach. Passing therefore through those parts of the country that were chiefly destitute of all inhabitants, he appeared, after four days march, upon the hills that stand opposite to Sparta; and from thence, leaving Menelaïum on his right, he advanced forwards to Amyclæ. The Lacedæmonians, when they beheld this army from the city, were struck with consternation and surprize. Their minds had indeed been alarmed not long before, by the news of the sack of Thermum, and of all the devastation which the Macedonians had committed in Ætolia: and the general rumour was, that Lycurgus would soon be sent to the assistance of the Ætolians. But they never had conceived the least suspicion, that the danger in so short a time could arrive close to Sparta, from a distance so considerable; especially as the King was at this time of an age, which was apt rather to inspire contempt than fear. As the event therefore was so contrary to all their expectation, it could not fail to strike them with the utmost terror. And indeed so greatly had the courage and the activity of this Prince surpassed all that his youth could promise, that his enemies in every place were filled with sollicitude and anxious doubt. For marching, as we have already mentioned, from the very middle of Ætolia, and having passed in one night's time the Ambra-cian Gulph, he arrived at Leucas; and when he had staid two days, on the third sailed early in the morning, and, wasting the coast of Ætolia as he passed, cast anchor at Lechaum; and from thence marching forwards without delay, he gained, upon the seventh day, the neighbourhood of Menelaïum, and the hills that overlooked the city of Sparta. So astonishing was this celerity, that those who themselves beheld it could scarcely give credit to their eyes. The Lacedæmonians therefore were distracted with suspense and wonder, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued.

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The King on the first day fixed his camp near Amyclæ, which is distant from Lacedæmon about twenty stadia. The country round it is distinguished above all the other parts of Laconia, by the excellence and rich variety of the trees and fruits with which it every where abounds. On the side of the city towards the sea, stands a Temple of Apollo, more sumptuous and magnificent than any in the province. On the next day he decamped, and destroying the country as he passed, arrived at the place that was called the Camp of Pyrrhus. On the two following days, he wasted all the neighbouring places, and came and incamped near Carnium; and from thence continuing his march to Asine, attempted to take the city. But after some fruitless efforts, he again decamped, and ravaged all the country, on the side towards the sea of Crete, as far as Tanarum. From thence, taking his route back again, and leaving on his right hand the port called Gythium, which is distant from Lacedæmon about thirty stadia, he incamped upon the frontiers of the Helian district, which is the largest and most beautiful of all the parts into which Laconia is divided. And having from this place sent his foragers abroad, he destroyed the fruits, and wasted all the country round Aciriæ and Leucæ; and from thence extended his incursions even to Bœa.

The Messenians, as soon as they had received the orders of the King, that they should join him with their forces, shewed no less diligence and zeal, than the rest of the allies; and having selected, among all the people of their province, two thousand of the bravest Foot, with two hundred Horse, they began their march towards Tegea. But because the route was of very considerable length, it happened, that Philip had left the city, before they were able to arrive. For some time therefore they were in doubt what resolution they should take. But when they had considered, that, as some suspicions had been before conceived against them, their delay upon this occasion

caſion likewise might perhaps be imputed to a deſigned and wilful negligence, they at laſt continued their march through the Argian territory towards Laconia, in order to join the Macedonians. When they arrived near Glympes, a fortrefs that was ſituated upon the extreme borders of Laconia and of Argia, they there incamped ; but without any kind of ſkill or caution. For they neither employed their pains to chooſe the moſt commodious ground, nor threw up any intrenchment round their camp ; but truſting to the favourable diſpoſition of the people, repoſed themſelves in full ſecurity before the walls. But Lycurgus being informed of their approach, took with him the mercenaries, and a part alſo of the Lacedæmonian forces, and beginning his march from Sparta, arrived at the place before break of day, and fell with great fury upon their camp. The Meſſenians, though they had ſhewn before ſo little prudence in all their conduct, and eſpecially in having marched from Tegea when their numbers were ſo few, and in oppoſition alſo to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them, were careful however, at this conjuncture, to have recourſe to the only meaſures, by which they could now obtain their ſafety. For as ſoon as the enemy approached towards them, they immediately left all their baggage, and fled into the Fortrefs. The baggage therefore, with many of the Horſes, fell into the hands of the enemy. Eight ſoldiers alſo of the Cavalry were killed. The reſt all eſcaped with ſafety ; and retreated back again, through Argia, to their own country. Lycurgus, elate with this ſucceſs, returned to Sparta, to complete the preparations for the war. And when he had held a conſultation with his friends, he reſolved, that Philip ſhould not be permitted to leave the country till he had firſt been forced to try the fortune of a battle.

The King now decamped from the Helian diſtriſt, and waſting the country on every ſide, arrived again, after four days march, in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ with all his
army,

army, about the middle of the day. Lycurgus, having in concert with his friends and officers regulated all the plan of the intended battle, marched out of the city, with two thousand men, and took possession of the posts round Menelaïum. At the same time he ordered those that were left in the city, carefully to observe the time, and as soon as they should perceive his signal, to lead out their troops from many parts at once, and range them in order of battle, with their front turned towards the Eurotas, and in the place in which that river flowed nearest to the city. Such was the disposition of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians.

But lest the reader, from being unacquainted with the country of which we are speaking, should be lost in error and uncertainty, we shall here point out the nature of the several places, with the manner in which they are situated: agreeably to the method, which we have still observed in the course of this work; comparing always, and bringing close together the parts that are unknown, with those that are already known, and which have been before described. For since, in reading the recital of engagements both by land and sea, the want of having gained a perfect knowledge of the peculiar face and disposition of the scene of action, often proves the occasion of great mistakes; and because my design in all which I relate, is not so much to shew what actions were performed, as the manner in which they severally were transacted; I think it necessary, to illustrate all great events, and especially those of war, by describing the places in which they happened, and distinguishing them by some precise and accurate marks; either by harbours, seas, and islands; or else again, by the temples, mountains, and countries that are near; but chiefly by their position with respect to the quarters of the heavens, because this distinction is of all others the most commonly received and understood. For this indeed is the only method, as we have observed

observed before, by which the reader ever can acquire a right conception of those countries, to which he is a stranger.

Sparta then, if we consider it in its general figure and position, is a city of a circular figure, standing in a plain. But the ground, in certain parts that are within the circuit of it, is rough and unequal, and rises high above the rest. Close before the city, on the side towards the East, flows the Eurotas; a river so large and deep, that, during the greatest part of the year, it is not to be forded. Beyond this river, on the south-east side of the city, are those hills, upon which stands Menelaum. They are rough, and difficult of ascent, and of a more than common height: and command intirely all the ground between the river and the city. For the river takes its course along the very border of the hills: and the whole space from thence to Sparta does not exceed a stadium and a half in breadth.

Such was the Defile, through which Philip, as he returned, must be forced to pass: having on his left hand the city, with the Lacedæmonians ranged in battle and ready to engage; and on his right, the River, and Lycurgus, with the troops that were posted upon the hills. But besides these difficulties, the Lacedæmonians, in order more effectually to obstruct his passage, had stopped the course of the river, at some distance above the ground which we have mentioned, and forced the waters to flow over all the space that lay between the city and the hills; so that neither the Cavalry nor Infantry could march that way with safety. The Macedonians therefore had no means left for their retreat, but to lead their army close along the very foot of the hills. But as they must then have marched with a very narrow and contracted Front, it would scarcely have been possible to resist the efforts of the enemy. When Philip had considered all these difficulties, and had held a consultation also with his Generals, he judged it necessary, that
Lycurgus

Lycurgus should be first dislodged from his posts upon the hills. Taking with him therefore the mercenaries, the Peltastæ, and the Illyrians, he passed the river, and advanced towards the enemy. When Lycurgus saw what the King designed, he exhorted his troops to perform their duty, and prepared them for the combat. At the same time he gave the signal also to those that were in the city; who immediately drew out their forces, and ranged them in order of battle before the walls, with the Cavalry upon their right. Philip, as he approached nearer to Lycurgus, first sent the mercenaries against him, to begin the action. The Lacedæmonians therefore, who were superior in the advantage of their arms, and from the situation also of the ground upon which they stood, for some time maintained the fight with the fairest prospect of success. But when Philip ordered the Peltastæ to advance, and support the troops that were first engaged, while himself with the Illyrians prepared to fall upon the enemy in their flank, the mercenaries, encouraged by this assistance, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before; while the Lacedæmonians, being struck with terror at the approach of the heavy-armed forces, turned their backs and fled. About a hundred of them were killed in the place; and more than that number taken prisoners. The rest escaped safe into the city. Lycurgus himself, with a small number of attendants, retreated through some private roads, and entered the city also in the night. Philip having posted the Illyrians upon the hills, from whence he had dislodged the enemy, returned again to join the rest of the army, with the Peltastæ and the light-armed troops.

During this time the Phalanx had begun their march from Amyclæ under the conduct of Aratus, and were now arrived near the city. The King therefore passed the river with the light-armed forces, the Peltastæ, and a body of Cavalry, in order to sustain the attack of the Lacedæmonians, till the

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heavy-armed troops, who continued their march along the sides of the hills, should have passed through the defile with safety. The Lacedæmonians, advancing from the city, charged first the Cavalry of the King. But as the action soon became more general, and was sustained by the Peltastæ with the greatest bravery, the victory was again wholly turned to the side of Philip, who drove back the Lacedæmonian Cavalry, and pursued them even to the gates. He then passed again the river, and closing the rear of all the Phalanx, continued his march forwards, without any loss.

He had just now gained the end of the defile, when the night suddenly came on, and forced him to incamp, without advancing any farther. It happened that the place, which the guides were thus compelled as it were by accident to mark out for the incampment, was that very ground, which an army would take by choice, if their intention was to pass beyond the city of Sparta, and to make incursions upon the Lacedæmonian territory. For it was situated at the extremity of this defile of which we have been speaking, in the road which leads to Lacedæmon, not only from Tegea, but from all the inland parts of Peloponnesus, and stood close upon the border of the river, at the distance of two stadia only from the city. The side, that looked towards the river and the city, was covered by steep and lofty precipices, which were almost inaccessible. And above these rocks, was a level plain, which abounded both with earth and water, and was also so disposed, that an army might at all times enter it, or retire again with safety. In a word, whoever has once gained possession of this plain, with the precipices likewise that are round it, not only may remain secure against all attacks from the side of Sparta, but is the master also of every thing that enters or returns through the Defile.

Philip, having here fixed his camp, in full security, on the following day sent his baggage away before, and then drew out all his

his forces in order of battle, upon the plain, in sight of the city. And when he had stood for some time in that disposition, he then turned aside, and directed his route towards Tegea. Arriving at the place, in which the battle had been fought between Antigonus and Cleomenes, he there incamped: and on the following day, when he had first viewed all the neighbouring posts, and offered sacrifice to the Gods upon the mountains Eva and Olympus, he strengthened the rear of his army, and continued his march forwards to Tegea: and having there sold all his booty, he passed from thence through Argos, and arrived at Corinth. In this place he was met by some ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to mediate a peace. The King, dissembling his intentions, assured the ambassadors, that he had been always strongly inclined, and still was ready, to put an end to the war; and dismissed them, with orders that they should employ all their power to lead the Ætolians into the same sentiments. He then went down to Lechæum, designing to sail from thence to Phocis, in order to carry into execution in that Province some designs of great importance.

C H A P. III.

AT this time Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, being persuaded that they should yet be able to intimidate the King, and by that means obliterate all their former crimes, dropped whispers of sedition among the Peltastæ and the soldiers of the Guard; and represented to them, that while they alone of all the army were at all times the first exposed to danger for the common safety of the rest, they not only were defrauded of their ancient privileges, but robbed also of that share in the division of the plunder, which by long custom they had a right to claim. The young men, inflamed by these discourses, ran together in a body, and began to pillage the houses of the most favoured Courtiers, and even attempted

to burst the doors, and to break through the roof of the apartments of the King. In a short time therefore, the whole city was filled with uproar and with tumult. Philip, being informed of this disorder, came running in great haste from Lechaëum back to Corinth. And having assembled the Macedonians in the Theatre, he endeavoured, both by admonition and by threatenings, to bring them to a sense of their misconduct. But as the confusion still increased, some were of opinion, that the chief leaders of the tumult should be seized and put to death: while others judged it to be far more prudent, to quiet the commotion by gentle means, and that no resentment should be shewn, on account of what had happened. The King, concealing his own sentiments, appeared to yield to this last advice; and after some general exhortations, returned back again to Lechaëum. For though he very well knew, by whose contrivance the sedition had been raised, yet the times forced him to dissemble. After this disorder, he was no longer able to carry into execution those designs, which had invited him to Phocis.

But Leontius, perceiving that all his projects still were frustrated, and having thrown away all hope of being able to succeed in any new attempt, was now forced to call Apelles to his assistance. He sent therefore repeated messengers, urging him to return from Chalcis, and informing him of all the danger and perplexity in which he had been involved, from having opposed the counsels of the King. Apelles, during his abode in Chalcis, had raised his credit to a very high degree of insolence: representing the King, upon all occasions, as a young man, that was wholly governed by him; and who had devolved upon him all the royal power, with the intire administration of the State. The Magistrates therefore, and the other Officers of Macedon and Thessaly, referred to him alone the censure of their conduct. And in every city also of Greece, whenever any Decrees were made,
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any honours paid, or presents offered, there was scarcely any mention made of Philip. Apelles obtained all, and governed all. The King had been for a long time past informed of these proceedings. But though he bore the insult with great uneasiness and pain, and was urged closely also by Aratus to apply some remedy, he so well concealed his sentiments, that no person yet was able to discover what measures he had resolved to take.

Apelles, being ignorant of all that was designed against him; and not doubting but that, as soon as he should appear again in the presence of the King, all things would be administered by his directions as before, returned in haste from Chalcis, to support his friends. As he came near to Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the Pelastæ, with the rest of the most distinguished bodies of the army, employed all their pains to engage the troops to meet him at some distance from the city. Apelles therefore entered in a kind of Triumph; attended by great numbers both of officers and soldiers; and went directly towards the apartments of the King. But as he was going to enter, agreeably to his former custom, a Lictor, who had before received his orders, stopped him from advancing, and told him that the King was not then at leisure. Apelles stood for some time fixed in doubt and wonder, at a treatment so strange and unexpected, and afterwards retired in great disorder. The company that had attended in his train all fell away before his face; so that at last he was followed to his house by his own servants only. Thus it is that all men, in the course even of one short moment, attain the highest elevation, and again are sunk in ruin. But this chiefly happens to those that are found in the courts of Kings. For as the Counters, that are used in calculation, are made sometimes equal to a Talent, sometimes to a Farthing, at the will of him who casts up the account; so these men likewise are either rich and splendid, destitute and involved in wretchedness,

wretchedness, as the nod of their Prince decrees. Megaleas, perceiving that he had hoped in vain to be protected by the power of Apelles against the danger which so nearly threatened him, resolved to save himself by flight. The King sometimes admitted Apelles to his presence, and favoured him with some slight marks of honour: but excluded him from all his counsels; and from the banquets which he celebrated with his friends, after the business of the day. Within some days afterwards, he sailed to Phocis from Lechæum, taking Apelles also with him. But he was forced to return again from Elatea, without being able to accomplish his designs. Megaleas seized the occasion of this absence, and fled to Athens; leaving Leontius engaged for the twenty talents which he had been condemned to pay. And when the Magistrates of Athens refused to receive him within their city, he retired to Thebes.

The King embarked at Cirrha with his guards, and having landed in the port of Sicyon, went from thence into the city, and, paying no regard to the invitation of the Magistrates, lodged himself in the House of Aratus, with whom he passed all his time, and sent Apelles back to Corinth. As soon also as he was informed that Megaleas had fled, he ordered Taurion to march with the Peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, into Triphylia; on pretence that they were there to be employed in some action of importance. But as soon as they had left the city, he ordered Leontius to be led away to prison, on account of the Fine, for which he was engaged as surety for Megaleas. The Peltastæ, being soon informed, by messengers that were sent to them from Leontius, of the danger into which he had fallen, immediately deputed some of their body to the King; to desire, that if Leontius was charged with any new offence, no judgement might be passed upon him before their return; that otherwise, they should think themselves despised and greatly injured: for such was the freedom, with which the Macedonians always were accustomed

customed to address their Kings. They added also, that if nothing more was demanded of him, than to pay the twenty Talents for Megaleas, they would themselves discharge the debt by common contribution. But this eagerness, which the soldiers shewed to save Leontius, served only to incense the King much more against him; and hastened the order for his death.

About this time, the ambassadors of Rhodes and Chios returned from Ætolia, having settled a Truce of thirty days. They assured the King, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace: and that if he would consent to meet their deputies at Rhium, on a day which they had named, he would find them heartily disposed to give a quick determination to the war. Philip consented to the Truce; and wrote also to the Allies, that they should send to Patræ some persons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then embarked at Lechæum, and after two days sailing, arrived at Patræ. In this place he received some letters sent from Phocis, which had been written by Megaleas to the Ætolians; exhorting them to persist in the war with confidence; and assuring them that Philip would soon be forced, by the want of necessaries, to abandon all his projects. There were added also many severe and injurious calumnies, with regard both to the conduct and the person of the King. Philip, when he had seen these letters, was now fully sensible that Apelles was the chief contriver of all that had been done to obstruct his measures. He gave orders therefore, that he should immediately be seized, and sent away under a guard to Corinth, together with his Son, and a young man his Favourite. At the same time he ordered Alexander to go to Thebes, and to cite Megaleas before the Magistrates for the payment of his Fine. But when this was done, Megaleas, not waiting for the sentence, destroyed himself with his own hands. Within some days afterwards, Apelles also died, together with his Son, and Favourite. Such was

was the fate, which at last befel these traitors; a fate, that was in justice due to all their past transactions, and especially to their insolent attempts against Aratus.

The Ætolians had wished indeed with earnestness to be delivered from a war, that pressed them closely on every side, and which had proved in all points contrary to that which they had expected from it. For they had vainly hoped, that they should be able to deal with Philip, as with a Child, that was destitute of knowledge and experience. But this Prince, both in forming his designs, and in carrying them also into execution, had shewn himself to be a perfect man: while themselves, on the other hand, appeared contemptible as children; as well in every single enterprize, as in the general conduct of the war. But when they received the news of the sedition that was raised among the troops, and of the deaths of Apelles and Leontius, they began to be persuaded, that such disorders might ensue, as would create no small embarrassment to the King. Flattered therefore by this hope, they neglected to send their deputies to Rhium on the appointed day. The King seized with joy the occasion that was thus thrown into his hands for continuing the war: both because he had the greatest hopes of a happy issue from it; and had also secretly resolved, before he arrived, that he would employ all his power to retard and obstruct the treaty. Instead therefore of advising the confederates who had joined him, to entertain any thoughts of peace, he on the contrary encouraged them still to pursue the war with vigour; and then sailed back again to Corinth. From thence he sent the Macedonians away through Thessaly, to pass the winter in their own country: while himself embarked at Cenchreæ, and sailing round the coast of Attica, arrived, through the Euripus, at Demetrias. And there finding Ptolemy, who alone was left of those that had been engaged in the conspiracy with Leontius, he brought him to a trial before some Macedonian

Macedonian judges, by whose sentence he was condemned to die.

This was the time, in which Annibal, having entered Italy, was incamped in sight of the Roman army upon the banks of the river Po. Antiochus also, having subdued the greatest part of Cœle-syria, had just now dismissed his army to their winter quarters. About the same time Lycurgus, King of Lacedæmon, was forced to fly into Ætolia, to avoid the fury of the Ephori. For these magistrates, deluded by a false report, that he designed to raise some disorders in the government, had drawn together a numerous party, and came to seize him in his house by night. But as he had received timely warning of the danger, he found means to escape with all his family.

The winter was now far advanced, and Philip had retired to Macedon. Eperatus also, the Achæan Prætor, was so sunk in credit and esteem, as well among the troops of the Republick as the mercenaries, that no respect was paid to his commands, nor any measures taken to secure the country against the incursions of the enemy. The General of the Eleans, Pyrrhias, having reflected on these circumstances, took with him fourteen hundred Ætolians, the mercenaries of the Eleans, and the forces also of the province, amounting to one thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, so that the whole number of his forces was about three thousand men, and made many depredations without remission upon the lands of the Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Patræans: and having at last incamped upon a hill called Panachaicus, which stood above the city of Patræ, he ravaged all the country as far as Ægium and Rhium. The cities, being thus insulted and destroyed, and not able to obtain any effectual succours, began to withhold their contributions to the war. The mercenaries on the other hand, perceiving that the payment of their stipends was from time to time neglected and delayed, refused to march to the

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assistance of the country. And thus while both sides gratified alike their mutual discontent, the disorder was still increased, till the troops at last all deserted from the service. Such were the effects of the incapacity and weakness of Eperatus. But while all things were thus tending fast to ruin, his administration came at last to an end. At the approach of summer, he resigned his office: and the Achæans made choice of the elder Aratus to be Prætor. Such was the condition of affairs in Europe.

C H A P. IV.

FROM these transactions, since we are now arrived at a suitable period with respect to time, as well as at a proper pause likewise in the relation of affairs, we shall go on to describe what passed in Asia during the course of this same Olympiad: beginning, as we at first designed, with the war in which Antiochus and Ptolemy were engaged together for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. For though this war, with respect both to the commencement and the progress of it, was coincident with that which we have last described, and was extended also beyond the time in which we have now broken our narration, yet it seemed most proper that we should give in this place a distinct relation of it, and separate it from the affairs of Greece. Nor will the reader find it difficult to apprehend the exact time in which all things severally were transacted; since we have already taken care, in relating all that passed in Greece, to mention always the beginning and the end of the chief events that happened at the same time in Asia. But that our work might be in every part intelligible and clear, it seemed, as we have said, most proper, that we should separate the affairs of these two countries, during the course only of this Olympiad. For in those that follow we shall interweave together in joint order, all the great transactions

actions that were coincident in time, and relate them as they happened, from year to year.

As my Design indeed, the most important and extensive, if I may be allowed to say it, of all that have hitherto been formed, is not to write the history of any single country, but to include together all the fortunes and transactions of every people and of every nation in the habitable earth, it will in a more especial manner be incumbent on me, to dispose and regulate the whole with such skill and care, as that the order and connection of all that I relate may be fully and distinctly understood, as well through the work in general, as also in it's several parts. With this design, I shall now look back to the earlier parts of the reign of Antiochus, and Ptolemy; and beginning from some certain and established facts, from thence lead the reader to the war which I am going to describe. Nor is this care to be regarded as a matter of small importance. For when the Ancients said, that a work begun was half completed, their intention was to warn us, that, in every undertaking, our greatest pains should be employed, to make a good beginning. And though this manner of expression may be thought by many to be raised beyond the truth, yet in my judgement it rather falls below it. For we may boldly say, not only that a work begun is half completed, but also, that the beginning is connected closely even with the end. For how can we properly begin, unless we have viewed our undertaking to it's utmost bounds; and known, from whence the work is to proceed, to what limits we design to extend it, and what also is the end proposed? Or how again shall we be able, to give any summary account of all that the work contains, unless we first compare together the beginning with the end, and place before us in one view the commencement, order, connection, and dependencies of those events, of which we design to treat? As the Beginning therefore is thus closely joined not only with the middle of the work, but also with

the end, it ought at all times to engage the chief attention, both of those that write, and of those also that read a General History. And this is that, which I shall myself endeavour to observe with the greatest care.

I am not ignorant indeed, that many others have boasted, like myself, that they have written a General History; and that their project is the greatest and the most important, of any that were ever offered to the world. Among these is Ephorus; who was the first, and is indeed the only one, who seems to have been in truth engaged in such an undertaking. With regard to all the rest, I shall at present forbear to name them: and will only say, that we have seen in our times some Historians, who, when they have given a slight account, within the compass of a few pages only, of the war of Annibal against the Romans, have boldly called their work a General History. And yet all men know, that at this time were accomplished many very signal and important actions, both in Spain and Afric, in Sicily and Italy; and that this war, the most celebrated, and, if we except the first war of Sicily, the longest also in its continuance of any that we have ever known, drew the eyes of all mankind towards it, and filled their minds with anxious fear for the event. Yet these Historians, when they have recorded fewer facts, than even those Painters, who, in some of the cities of Greece, are employed from time to time to draw upon the walls a slight and general sketch of any actions that have happened, make no scruple to affirm, that they have included in their work the conduct, and the various fortunes, of the Barbarians and the Greeks. But to say the truth, as on the one hand nothing is so easy, as to engage, by words, in the most extensive undertakings; so on the other, nothing is more difficult, than to carry any great design effectually into execution. For the first lies within the power of all, who possess only a sufficient share of confidence. But the latter is the portion of a few; and can scarcely

scarcely be accomplished, even in the course of a long and laborious life. Let these reflections therefore serve to moderate in some degree the arrogance of those writers, who so vainly extol their own productions. I now return again to the subject, from whence I was led into this digression.

Ptolemy, who was surnamed Philopator, having after the death of his Father destroyed his Brother Magas with all his friends, reigned alone in Ægypt. As by this exploit he had freed himself from the dread of any domestick tumults, so fortune also seemed to have secured him against all danger from abroad. For Seleucus and Antigonus both were dead: and Antiochus and Philip, who succeeded in their kingdoms, were still in their most tender age. Flattered therefore by this prospect of tranquillity and ease, he began to waste his time in one continual course of sports and pleasures; secluding himself from every kind of business; and not permitting either the Nobles of his court, or those that were intrusted with the administration of the kingdom, ever to approach him. With regard also to all the foreign provinces, the Governors were left to pursue their own designs, without any inquiry or restraint. And yet these were the parts of their dominions, which all former Kings had at all times thought more worthy of their attention, even than Ægypt. For thus, while they were masters of Cyprus and of Cœle-syria, they lay close upon the Kings of Syria both by land and sea. Possessed also of the most considerable cities, ports, and harbours along the coast, from Pamphylia towards the Hellespont, as far as Lyfimachia, they were always able to controul the powers of Asia, and the Islands. And, even with respect to Thrace and Macedon, they were still ready to attend to all commotions, and repel every danger that might threaten them, while they held a garrison in Ænos and Maronea, and in some cities also that were beyond them. By this wise policy, while their power was spread wide abroad, they reigned in full security
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in Ægypt, which was covered against all attacks by the barrier of their distant provinces. It was not without good reason therefore, that they still watched over the condition of these countries with extreme attention. But Ptolemy rejected all this care: and abandoned himself at once to obscene amours and mad debauchery, without any intermission or reserve. And from hence it happened, as it might indeed be reasonably expected, that within a short time afterwards many designs were formed, to deprive him both of his kingdom and his life.

The first attempt was made against him by Cleomenes the Spartan. This Prince, during the life-time of Euergetes, who had entered into a close alliance with him, remained satisfied and quiet; being persuaded, that he should be able to obtain at some convenient time the assistance that was necessary to recover again his paternal kingdom. But when that Monarch had been some time dead, and the affairs of Greece were in such condition that they seemed aloud to demand Cleomenes; when Antigonus was now also dead, the Achæans involved in war, and the Lacedæmonians, pursuing that very project which Cleomenes himself had formed, had joined their arms with the Ætolians against the Macedonians and Achæans; he was impatient to be gone from Alexandria, and urged his departure with the greatest earnestness. He at first desired to be dismissed, with some suitable supplies of troops and stores. And when this request was wholly disregarded, he begged that himself at least might be permitted to leave the kingdom with his family; since the times were now so favourable for obtaining again the sovereignty, of which he had been deprived. The king, being immersed in sloth and pleasure, paying no attention to any thing that was before him, and utterly regardless also of the future, still foolishly refused to hear the petitions of Cleomenes. But Sosibius, who was then the first in the administration of the kingdom, assembled together

gether his friends, to consider what was most proper to be done. In this Council it was soon determined, that they would not send back Cleomenes with a fleet and forces. For besides that, from the time in which Antigonus had died, they had intirely disregarded all the affairs abroad, and on that account considered the expence, that must attend this expedition, as a thing unnecessary; they were apprehensive likewise, that as there was now no General left, that was equal to Cleomenes, this Prince would soon be able to subdue all Greece with little difficulty, and might then turn his arms perhaps against themselves, and become to Ægypt a most dangerous and formidable enemy. And this indeed was rather to be dreaded, because he had viewed the whole state of their affairs in the clearest light; had conceived a high and just contempt of the conduct and manners of the King; and had also seen, that many parts of their dominions were independent, and far separated from the rest, and offered many favourable opportunities for action to a dexterous enemy. For at this time there were many ships at Samos; and a considerable number also of troops at Ephesus. From these reasons they concluded, that it was by no means proper to furnish him with the supplies that were desired. On the other hand, if they should dismiss a man so great and eminent, after they had thus contemptuously slighted his request, it was manifest that he would from thence become their most implacable and sharpest enemy. It remained therefore, that, in spite of his own desire and inclinations, he should be still detained at Alexandria. But this design was at once, without deliberation, condemned by all. For they judged it to be much too dangerous, to shut up a Lion in the same fold with Sheep. Sosibius, more than all the rest, was apprehensive of the ill effects of such a measure; from the reasons, which I am going to relate.

At the time when the design was formed to destroy Magas and Berenice, the persons who conducted it were distracted with

with no small sollicitude; chiefly, lest the bold and resolute spirit of the Princess should baffle their attempts, and defeat the whole conspiracy. In this apprehension, they employed great pains to draw the courtiers to their party; and promised large rewards to all, in case that their project should be attended with success. Among the rest, Sosibius had recourse especially to Cleomenes; whom he knew to be a man of deep sense and judgement, well versed in the conduct of great affairs, and who at this time was solliciting some assistance from the King. Flattering him therefore with the hopes of obtaining all that he desired, he disclosed to him the secret of the whole design. Cleomenes, perceiving that his mind was filled with doubt and apprehension, and that he dreaded more especially some resistance from the foreign troops, exhorted him to lay aside his fears; and promised, that these mercenaries, instead of taking arms against him, should be even ready to assist him in his project, in case that there should be occasion for it. And when Sosibius appeared surprized at this assurance, "Do you not see, continued he, that there are here three thousand men from Peloponnesus, and a thousand Cretans; who all, at the least nod which I shall make, will join to execute your orders? And when these troops are drawn together for your defence, what have you left to dread? the soldiers of Syria and of Caria?" Sosibius heard this discourse with pleasure; and was greatly encouraged by it to persist in his design. But afterwards, when he saw the weakness and effeminacy of the King, the words that were now spoken by Cleomenes, were for ever present to his mind; and forced him to reflect continually upon the enterprising disposition of this Prince, and the favour in which he stood among the mercenaries. At this time therefore, he resolved to engage his friends, and Ptolemy himself, to consent that Cleomenes should be seized, and shut up in close confinement. And this was soon effected in the following manner.

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There was a certain Messenian, named Nicagoras, who had received the rights of hospitality from the father of Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon : and from thence some kind of intercourse, though slight and general, had been still preserved between the Son also and himself. But when Archidamus, in order to avoid the vengeance of Cleomenes, was forced to fly from Sparta, and sought refuge in Messene, Nicagoras received him into his house, and supplied him with all necessaries : and as they conversed together continually, a mutual inclination to each other by degrees took place, which at last was ripened into the most perfect confidence and friendship. When Cleomenes therefore, some time afterwards, gave hopes that he would again be reconciled to Archidamus, and permit him to return, Nicagoras was employed at his own request to settle the conditions of the treaty. And when these were on both sides ratified, Archidamus set out to return to Sparta ; and thought himself secure in the agreement, that had been thus negotiated by his friend. But Cleomenes met him upon the road, and killed him ; but suffered Nicagoras, with the rest of the attendants, to escape. Nicagoras concealed his sentiments, and outwardly professed great obligations to Cleomenes, who had thus spared his life. But in his mind he bore a strong resentment of the action : because it seemed, that through his means chiefly the King had fallen into the snare, that proved so fatal to him.

This man then, about the time of which we are speaking, arrived at Alexandria, with some Horses which he had brought to sell. As he came to land, he saw Cleomenes, who was walking with Hippitas and Panteus, near the harbour. Cleomenes saluted him with great affection, and inquired the business of his voyage. And when Nicagoras told him, that he had brought some horses ; “ I could wish, said he, most heartily, that you had rather brought some Catamites and Dancers ; for these are the amusement of the present King.”

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Nicagoras

Nicagoras then smiled, but made no reply. But some days afterwards, being admitted, upon the business of his horses, to the presence of Sofibius, in order to incense him against Cleomenes, he reported to him this discourse. And when he observed, that he was heard with pleasure, he discovered all the grounds of his own aversion against that Prince. When Sofibius found that he was in reality an enemy to Cleomenes, he offered to him some considerable presents, and promising also more, prevailed upon him to write a letter, which should contain some charge against Cleomenes, and to leave it sealed, with orders to a Servant to deliver it, within some days after his departure. Nicagoras entered readily into all the project: and sailed away from Alexandria. The Letter was then delivered to Sofibius; who carried it, together with the servant, to the King. The Servant declared, that Nicagoras had left the letter, with orders, that he should deliver it to Sofibius. The letter itself imported, that Cleomenes, if the King should still persist in refusing the supplies that were necessary for his return, had resolved soon to raise some commotions in the kingdom. Sofibius, seizing the occasion, urged the King, and all that were about him, to admit no delay, but instantly to prevent the treason, by securing the person of Cleomenes. And this accordingly was done. They allotted to him for his residence a House of great extent, in which he was guarded carefully: so that he differed in no respect from other prisoners, except only that his prison was of larger size.

Cleomenes, when he had weighed all the circumstances of his present state, and perceived that there was no room left for hope, was determined to attempt and hazard every thing, in order to regain his liberty: not so much in expectation that he should be able to succeed in the design, since he was destitute of all the necessary means; but rather, because he had resolved to die a glorious death, without suffering any thing that might disgrace his former greatness; having fixed, as I suppose, his whole

whole attention upon that noble sentiment of the Poet, so flattering to men of elevated minds :

Welcome, fate !

'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great :

Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire ;

Let future ages hear it, and admire. *

Having waited therefore, till the King was gone from Alexandria to Canopus, he then spread a report among his Guards, that he should soon obtain his liberty. Upon this pretence, he feasted all his family ; and distributed among the soldiers also, meat and wine, and crowns of flowers. The Guards, not suspecting any kind of fraud, gave full indulgence to their appetites. And when at last they had drunk to great excess, Cleomenes, with his friends and servants, having poniards in their hands, passed through them unperceived, about the middle of the day. When they came into the street, they there met Ptolemy, who, in the absence of the King, was intrusted with the government of the city : and having struck a terror into his attendants, they pulled him from his chariot, and shut him up ; and then called aloud to the people, to resume their Liberty. But when the multitude were all so struck with terror at the boldness of the attempt, that none approached to join them, they directed their way towards the Citadel ; with design to force their entrance, and take the prisoners to their assistance. But the officers, in apprehension of this accident, had strongly barred the gates. Disappointed therefore in this hope likewise, they at last killed themselves with their own poniards ; and thus shewed a courage that was truly Spartan. In this manner fell Cleomenes ; a Prince, whose manners were dexterous and insinuating, as his capacity in the administration of affairs was great : and who, to express his cha-

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* Mr. Pope, Iliad 22.

rafter in a word, was moft admirably formed by nature, both for a General and a King.

Within a fhort time after this event, Theodotus the Governour of Cœle-fyria, an Ætolian by his birth, refolved to enter into treaty with Antiochus, and to deliver to him the cities of his Province. He was urged to this defign, partly by the contempt which he had conceived of Ptolemy, on account of his lazy and luxurious life ; and partly alfo becaufe he was perfuaded, that fome ill defigns had been formed againft himfelf by the minifters of the court. For not long before, though he had performed many important fervices, as well on other occafions, as more efpecially at the time in which Antiochus firft invaded Cœle-fyria, he not only had received no reward or favour, but on the contrary was ordered to return to Alexandria, and even found it difficult to efcape with life. Antiochus received his offer with the greateft joy : and the agreement was in a fhort time fully regulated. But we fhall now perform for this Houfe likewise, what we have done with refpect to Ptolemy ; and looking back to the time, in which Antiochus began to reign, fhall from thence give a fhort account of the chief events, to the commencement of that war which we are now preparing to describe.

C H A P. V.

ANTIOCHUS was the youngeft fon of Seleucus, furnamed Callinicus. As foon as his Father was dead, and his elder Brother had, in right of his birth, fucceeded in the throne, he at firft retired from the court, and fixed his refidence in the upper Afia. But fome time afterwards, when his Brother, having paffed Mount Taurus with an army, was deprived of his life by treachery, as we before related, he returned, and took poffeffion of the kingdom ; leaving to Achæus the government of the country that was on this fide of Mount Taurus.

Taurus. At the same time also he intrusted to the care of Molon, and of Alexander Molon's brother, all the upper provinces; and appointed the first to be the governour of Media, and the other of Persis.

But not long afterwards, these two, despising the King on account of his tender age, being incited also by the hope that Achæus might be engaged to enter with them into their design, but chiefly because they dreaded the cruel disposition, and the wicked arts of Hermias, who was then the first in the administration of affairs, resolved to throw off their allegiance, and employ all their power, to engage the upper provinces to revolt.

Hermias was by birth a Carian; and had been intrusted with the supreme direction of the kingdom by Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus, when he set out upon his expedition towards Mount Taurus. Raised to this high post, he grew jealous of all besides that were in any manner distinguished in the court. And being by nature cruel, he sometimes aggravated little faults into crimes of moment, and punished them with the last severity. Sometimes, himself both forged the accusation, and decided as the Judge, without any remorse or pity. Above all the rest, he wished most earnestly for some occasion, by which he might destroy Epigenes, who had led the forces back, that had attended on Seleucus. For he knew that he was a man of eminent abilities, both in the cabinet and the field; and that his authority also among the troops was great. Having marked him therefore, as the chief object of his fear and hatred, he attended carefully to every accident, that might furnish him with some pretence against him. At this time, when the King had called together a Council to deliberate on the measures that were most proper to be taken against the rebels, and had commanded every man to speak his sentiments, Epigenes, who rose up the first, advised, that, in a matter of so near and great importance, no moment should

be lost : that the King himself should hasten in person to the place, and not suffer the occasion to escape : that, by his presence in the country with a sufficient force, either Molon must at once be forced to abandon his designs, or in case that he still should have the boldness to persist, the people would all join to seize, and deliver him a prisoner to the King. He had scarcely ended, when Hermias, rising full of rage, declared, that Epigenes, for a long time past, had harboured secretly such counsels in his heart, as were the most pernicious to the kingdom ; but that now his sentiments had appeared without disguise, since he had thus urged the King to march in person into a country that was armed against him, with a force too small for his security, and in a word, to throw himself at once into the power of the rebels. He then said no more ; but being satisfied with having stamped this first bad impression of Epigenes, so that his words seemed rather the effect of an inconsiderate and hasty peevishness, than of any settled hatred, he went on to deliver his own opinion ; which was, that the King should lay aside all thoughts of marching against Molon, and rather turn his arms against the King of Ægypt. For being himself unskilled in the affairs of war, he feared to encounter with the danger, which this expedition seemed to promise : and was persuaded on the other hand, that Ptolemy, a prince immersed in sloth and pleasure, might be attacked with little hazard. Having thus struck a terror into all the members of the council, he gave to Xenon, and to Theodotus, a native of Hermione, the conduct of the forces that were ordered to be sent against the rebels.

From this time also, he never ceased to press the King continually, to enter Coele-syria with an army : being persuaded, that if this young Prince should be once inclosed on every side by war, perplexed with difficulties, and distressed by danger, he would stand so much in need of his constant counsel and assistance, that he never would be able to entertain a thought
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of inquiring into any of his former faults, or make any attempt to divest him of that power of which he was then possessed. At last therefore, having forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him from Achæus, he carried it to the King. The import of it was, "that Ptolemy had strongly urged Achæus to assume the royal diadem, and promised to assist him both with ships and money, in case that he would declare himself the Sovereign of the countries which he at that time governed: that in fact, he already was the Sovereign of them; and why then should he envy himself the name, and foolishly reject the crown which was thus placed upon his head by fortune?" Antiochus gave full credit to this letter, and was now fixed in the design of invading Cœle-syria without delay.

About this time, while the King was at Seleucia near Zeugma, Laodice, who was designed to be his wife, arrived from Capadocia, conducted by Diognetus. She was the daughter of king Mithridates, and was a Virgin. Mithridates himself derived his descent from one of those seven Persians who killed Magus; and boasted also, that his kingdom, which stood upon the coast of the Euxine sea, was the same, which had first been given to his ancestors by Darius. Antiochus, attended by a numerous train of courtiers, met the Princess on her journey; and solemnized the nuptials with such splendour and magnificence, as were worthy of a King. From thence he went down to Antiochia; and having declared Laodice his Queen, began to make all the necessary preparations for the war.

During this time Molon, with the assistance of his brother Alexander, who engaged without reserve in the same design, drew to his party all the people of his government; partly by the promise of great riches and rewards, and partly also by intimidating the chief men of the country, to whom he shewed some letters of a severe and threatening strain, which he pretended to have been written by the King. He took care
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also to secure himself against all danger from the neighbouring Provinces ; having by large presents gained the favour of the Governours. And when his measures were all fully regulated, he began his march with a very numerous army, and advanced to meet the forces of the King.

The Generals Xenon and Theodotus were struck with terror at his approach, and retired into the cities. Molon therefore became at once the master of all the country round Apollonia, which abounded with supplies and stores of every kind in the greatest quantity. Before this success, his power indeed was very greatly to be dreaded, on account of the riches and the wide extent of the country which he governed. For all the royal herds of horses are bred among the Medes. Their cattle and their fruits are scarcely to be numbered. Nor is it easy to express the natural strength and greatness of this province.

For Media, which is situated near the midst of Asia, far surpasses every other province, as well in its extent, as in the height also and the number of the mountains with which the country all is covered. It commands likewise many great and powerful nations, that are situated close upon the borders of it. On the side towards the East, are those desert plains that lie between Persis and Parrhasia ; the passes that are called the Caspian Gates ; and the Tapyrian mountains, which are not far distant from the Hyrcanian sea. On the South, it extends towards the borders of Mesopotamia, Apollonia, and Persis ; and is covered by the mountain Zagrus, which rises to a hundred stadia in its height ; and whose summit, being parted into many separate hills, forms deep declivities and spacious vallies, which are inhabited by the Cossæans, the Corbrenæ, Carchians, and other barbarous tribes, all celebrated for their prowess and dexterity in war. Towards the West, it is closely joined to the people called the Atropatians ; who themselves are not far distant from the nations that reside upon the borders of the Euxine sea. And lastly, this Province, on the

the side towards the North, is bounded by the Elymæans, Ariaracæ, Caddusians, and the Matianians; and commands those countries likewise that extend towards that part of the Pontus which is joined with the Mæotis. The Province itself is broken into many parts, by various chains of mountains, which cover it, at certain distances, from East to West: and the plains between are all filled with villages and cities. Molon therefore, being master of a province so considerable, and which was indeed itself a kingdom, was before, as we have said, very greatly to be dreaded. But now, when the Generals of the King had yielded to him all the open country, and this first success had inspired his troops with confidence, his power appeared so great and formidable, that all the people of Asia were struck with consternation, and began to lose all hope of being able to resist his arms. At first therefore he resolved to pass the Tigris, and to besiege Seleucia. But being prevented in this design by Zeuxis, who had removed all the boats that were upon the river, he retreated back again to a place that was called The Camp, in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, and made the necessary preparations to pass the winter there with all his army.

As soon as the King received the news, that Molon had already made so quick a progress, and that his Generals had retired before him, he resumed again his first design, and resolved to suspend his expedition against Ptolemy, and to march without any new delay immediately against the rebels. But Hermias, persisting still in his former project, gave to Xenætas, an Achæan, the supreme command of all the forces, and sent him against Molon. It was proper, he said, that Generals should be employed, to bring back rebellious subjects to their duty: but that a King should only take the field against a King, when the contest was for glory and for empire. And as Antiochus was at this time wholly in his power, he immediately began his march to Apamea; assembled the troops to-

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gether ; and from thence advanced to Laodicea. From this city, the King continued his route with all the army, and having passed the desert, entered a close and narrow valley, which lies between the Libanus and Antilibanus, and is called the Vale of Marfyas. The narrowest part of the valley is covered by a lake and marshy ground; from whence are gathered aromattick reeds. The two sides of it are secured by two fortresses, the one of which is called Brochi, and the other Gerrha, which leave but a very inconsiderable space between them. The King, having marched some days along the valley, and in his way reduced the cities that were near, came at last to Gerrha. And finding that Theodotus the Ætolian, had posted a sufficient force in both the fortresses, had fortified with trenches and with palisades the pass that led along the lake, and had placed some troops in every part that was commodious for it, he at first endeavoured to dislodge the enemy, and to force his passage. But as all the posts were thus strongly fortified, he suffered great loss in the attempt, without being able to annoy the enemy. And as Theodotus also was at this time firm in the interests of his master, he at last was forced to abandon the design.

Antiochus, being thus repulsed, and not able to surmount the difficulties that were before him, at the same time also received the news, that Xenœtas had suffered an intire defeat, and that all the upper provinces had submitted to the rebels. He resolved therefore to lay aside at once all farther thoughts of the expedition in which he was now engaged, and to turn back again without delay, to the assistance of his own proper kingdom.

For Xenœtas, being raised, as we have said, to the supreme command, and invested with a power to which his hopes had never dared to aspire, rejected with disdain the counsels of his friends, and pursued, in all his conduct, the dictates only of his own hasty and impetuous will. He led the army however
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to Seleucia ; and being joined there by Diogenes and Pythiades, the first of whom was Governour of the Sufian Province, and the other of the Red Sea, he advanced with all the forces, and incamped in sight of the enemy, having the Tigris in his front. But being assured by many soldiers, who swam over to him from the camp of Molon, that if he would pass the river, the whole army of the rebels, who were jealous of their General's greatness, and in their hearts still preserved a strong affection for the King, would at once embrace his party, he resolved immediately to transport his forces to the other side ; and at first made a shew, as if he had designed to lay a bridge across the river, in a part that formed a kind of island. But as he was wholly destitute of all things that were proper for his purpose, this attempt gave no sollicitude to Molon. But afterwards when he had drawn together all the boats that he was able to procure, he selected from the army the bravest of the forces, both Infantry and Cavalry, and leaving the care of the camp to Zeuxis and Pythiades, he marched down the stream to the distance of about eighty stadia from the place in which Molon lay incamped, passed the river without resistance, and incamped upon a very advantageous ground, which was almost every way surrounded by the river, and covered also in the other parts by pools and marshes, that were not easy to be passed. As soon as Molon was informed of what had happened, he sent away his Cavalry, in the hope, that they would be able with little difficulty to intercept the forces as they passed the river, and obtain an easy victory over those that had already gained the land. But these troops, as they approached, were themselves soon vanquished, without any efforts of the enemy. For being wholly unacquainted with the ground, they were plunged at every step into pits and pools : and being thus deprived of the power of resisting, were there all destroyed. Xenætas, who was still persuaded, that the rebels, upon his first approach, would run to embrace his party,

continued his march afterwards along the river, and incamped very near the enemy. Molon, either by stratagem, or because he was apprehensive that the troops might indeed be inclined to join Xenœtas, left all his baggage behind him in the camp, and beginning his march by night, directed his route towards Media. Xenœtas, not doubting but that the retreat of Molon was the effect of fear, and want of confidence in his troops, took possession of the camp from which the enemy had retired; and brought over also all his Cavalry, together with the baggage, which he had left on the other side of the river under the command of Zeuxis. He then assembled the troops together, and exhorted them boldly to expect a happy issue from the war, since Molon had already fled. He ordered them to take their full repast, and to be ready at break of day to pursue the enemy. The soldiers, being thus filled with confidence, and finding all kinds of provisions in the camp, began to eat and drink without any moderation or restraint; till they fell at last into that state of careless and insensible security, which is the usual attendant of excess.

But Molon, when he had gained a proper distance, ordered his troops to take their supper, and then returned again towards the camp; and arriving about break of day, forced the intrenchments, and fell with fury upon the enemy, while they were all dispersed and drowned in wine. Xenœtas, struck with consternation, and having in vain employed his efforts to raise the soldiers from their drunken sleep, threw himself into the middle of the combatants, and lost his life. The greatest part of the troops were destroyed sleeping in their beds. The rest plunged into the river, and hoped to gain the camp that was on the other side. But of these the greater part were also lost. In a word, disorder, noise, and tumult were spread through all the camp. Every mind was filled with horror and distraction. In this state, the troops, as they turned their eyes towards the camp on the opposite shore, which
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flood full in view, and at a very inconsiderable distance from them, forgot at once the strength and rapid violence of the stream that was between. Blinded therefore by their fears, and urged by the eager hopes of life, they leaped into the river; and even threw into it their horses and their baggage, as if the stream, by some kind of providential care, would have assisted them in their distress, and waisted them to the opposite bank in safety. But how lamentable, and how full of horror was the scene! Men struggling with the waters: horses also, and beasts of burthen, floating down the stream: with arms, dead carcases, and every kind of baggage.

Molon, being thus master of the camp, passed the river without resistance, and gained possession also of the other camp, from which Zeuxis had retired at his approach. After this success, he advanced with all his army to Seleucia, and took it in the first assault: for Zeuxis still fled before him, together with Diomedon the Governour of the city. From hence he marched through the country, and subdued without any difficulty, all the upper provinces. Having made himself master of Babylon, with the country which extends along the borders of the Red Sea, he came to Susa, and took this city also in the first assault; but failed in his attempt to reduce the citadel, into which Diogenes had thrown himself with a body of forces. Leaving therefore one part of his army to invest the place, he returned back again with the rest, to Seleucia upon the Tigris. And having carefully refreshed his troops, and encouraged them to pursue the war, he again took the field, and subdued all the country which lay along the Tigris, and was called Parapotamia, as far as to the city Europus; and all Mesopotamia likewise, as far as Dura.

The news of these rapid victories forced Antiochus, as we have already said, to lay aside all thoughts of reducing Cœlœsyria, and to turn his whole attention upon the danger which so nearly threatened him. He assembled therefore a second Council,

Council, and commanded every one to declare his sentiments, with respect to the measures that were most proper to be taken, to check the progress of the rebels. Epigenes again spoke the first, and said, that before the enemy had gained such great advantages, his opinion was, that the King should march himself into the country without delay; and that he still persisted in the same advice. He had scarcely ended, when Hermias, giving now full scope to his resentment, vented his rage in severe reproaches, and charged Epigenes with many bitter accusations, which were both absurd and false. He extolled the merit also of his own great services; and pressed the King with the utmost earnestness, by no means to desist from his first design, or abandon, upon so slight a shew of reason, the hopes which he had conceived, of joining Cœle-syria to his empire. But this conduct gave no small offence to the whole assembly. Antiochus himself was also much displeased; and employed all his power to quiet the contention: which he at last indeed effected, but not without great difficulty. The measures which Epigenes had advised, were approved by all the Council, as the wisest and most necessary in the present circumstances. It therefore was resolved, that all other business should give place; and that the King should employ all his force against the rebels without delay.

As soon as the affair was thus decided, Hermias let fall at once all farther contest, and conformed himself to this opinion, together with the rest. And declaring also, that when a resolution once was taken, every man was obliged in duty to receive it without objection or excuse, he applied himself in earnest, and with the greatest diligence, to make all the necessary preparations for the war. But when the troops were drawn together to Apamea, and a sedition had broke out among them, on account of some arrears that were owing to them from their pay, observing that the King was filled with consternation, and seemed to fear that this disorder, having
happened

happened at a time so critical, might be attended with some fatal consequences, he offered to discharge at his own expence the allowance that was due, on condition only, that Epigenes should be dismissed. For he said, that as their mutual contests and resentment had been raised to such a height, it was greatly to be feared, that their presence together in the army would soon prove the source of some new disorders, which might be fatal in the conduct of the war. The King, who knew that Epigenes had gained a consummate skill in the art of war, and who wished especially, on that account, that he might attend him in his expedition, received this demand with great reluctance and concern. But being pressed and closely urged on every side by the officers of his house, and by all his guards and servants, whom Hermias by his wicked artifices had engaged in his designs, he was no longer master of himself: but was forced to yield to what the times required; to consent to all that was proposed; and to send orders to Epigenes, that he should remain at Apamea. The members of the Council were all seized with terror. The troops, having obtained their wishes, returned again to their duty, and were disposed to advance all the interests of Hermias, who had thus procured the payment of their stipends. The Cyrrestæ alone, who were in number about six thousand men, persisted still in their revolt; and having separated themselves from the rest of the army, for some time occasioned no small trouble. But they were at last defeated in a set engagement with one of the Generals of the King; who destroyed the greater part of them in the action, and forced the rest to surrender at discretion.

Hermias, having thus struck all the friends of the king with terror, and secured to himself the favour and affection of the army, began his march, together with the King; and about the same time also, formed the following contrivance to destroy Epigenes; having engaged in his design Alexis, who

who commanded in the citadel of Apamea. A Letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and was placed privately among his papers, by a servant whom they had gained by large promises to their party. Some time afterwards, Alexis came to Epigenes, and demanded, whether he had not received some letters from the rebels. Epigenes, not without some shew of indignation, denied the charge. But Alexis, having replied that he would search, entered hastily into his apartments, found the letter, and upon that pretence immediately killed Epigenes. The King was prevailed on to believe that he had merited his fate: and those that were about the court, though they had some suspicion of the treachery, were restrained to silence by their fears.

The King now advanced towards the Euphrates; and being joined by the forces that were there, he continued his march from thence, and came to Antiochia in Mygdonia, about the beginning of the winter. And having rested during forty days, till the extreme severity of the cold was passed, he again decamped, and arrived at Liba, and there called together his Council, to deliberate on the route by which he should advance against the rebels, who were at this time in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and to consider also, by what means the army might most commodiously be furnished with provisions in their march. In this assembly it was urged by Hermias, that they should continue their route along the Tigris: by which means they would be covered not only by that river, but by the Lycus also, and the Caprus. Zeuxis, to whose view the late lamentable fortune of Epigenes was present, for some time feared to declare his sentiments. But as the measure that was now proposed was sure to be attended with inevitable ruin, he at last ventured to advise, that they should pass the Tigris. He shewed, that in general the route along the river was very rough and difficult; that after having advanced to a considerable distance, and passed a desert also, which

which was not to be traversed in less than six days march, they must at last arrive at the place, that was called the Royal Camp; that if the enemy should first have gained possession of this post, it would be impossible for them to advance beyond it; nor could they, on the other hand, return back again through the desert, without the danger of being all lost in their retreat, through the want of necessaries: whereas on the other hand, if the King would now pass the river, it was not to be doubted, but that all the Apollonians would seize at once the occasion of his presence, and return again to their duty, since they were joined to Molon not by any affection, but by necessity and fear; that as the country was rich and fertile, the troops might from thence be furnished with provisions in the greatest plenty; that Molon, being thus cut off from his return to Media, and deprived of the subsistence likewise which he had hitherto received from all this province, must of necessity be forced to venture on a battle; or in case he should decline it, that his troops would soon revolt, and run to embrace the party of the King." This opinion was consented to by all. They divided the army therefore into three separate bodies; passed the river in three different parts, with all their baggage; and came to Dura, which was then besieged by one of the Generals of Molon. But the siege was raised upon their first approach. They then continued their march forwards without delay, and having on the eighth day passed beyond the Oricus, arrived at Apollonia.

When Molon was informed that Antiochus advanced fast towards him, distrusting on the one hand the fidelity of the people of Susiana and of Babylon, who had so lately been constrained to join his party, and dreading also, on the other hand, that his return to Media might be soon cut off, he resolved to lay a bridge across the Tigris, to transport his army over, and possess himself, before Antiochus, of those mountains that stood upon the borders of the Apollonian territory;

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being persuaded, that with the assistance of his Cyrtian slingers, who were very numerous, he should be able to maintain that post against the King. This design was immediately carried into execution. He passed the river, and continued his march forwards with the greatest haste. But when he had just reached the mountains, his light-armed troops, that were sent before, were met by those of the King, who had also begun his march from Apollonia with all his army. These troops at first engaged together in some slight skirmishes: but as the main bodies now approached, they severally retired, and incamped together with their respective armies, leaving the distance of about forty stadia between the camps.

When night came on, Molon, having considered with himself how difficult and dangerous it was, to lead an army of rebels against their Sovereign, face to face, and in the clear light of day, resolved to attack Antiochus in the night. He selected therefore all the bravest of his troops, and taking a circuit round, designed to choose some eminence, and to fall from thence upon the Royal camp. But being informed that ten young soldiers had left him in the march, and gone to join the King, he was forced to desist from this design, and return back again to his own intrenchments, which he entered about break of day, and spread great disorder through all the camp. For the soldiers, being thus suddenly awakened from their sleep, were so terrified by the noise and tumult of his entry, that they began to fly with great precipitation from the camp. Molon employed all his pains to calm their apprehensions, and, as effectually as the time would then permit, quieted the disorder.

As soon as day appeared, the King, having drawn out all his forces, ranged them in order of battle. Upon the right Wing he placed first the Cavalry that were armed with lances, under the command of Ardys, a General of consummate skill and bravery. Next to these were the Cretan troops; then
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the Tectofages ; after these, the Grecian mercenaries ; and last of all, in the same line, the Phalanx. Upon the left Wing stood the Cavalry, who were called the Companions of the King. The Elephants, which were ten in number, were stationed, at certain distances, in front of all the army. Some cohorts also both of Infantry and Cavalry were distributed into both the wings ; with orders, that they should surround the enemy, and fall upon their flank, as soon as the battle was begun. The King then went round the army, and raised the courage of the troops by a short harangue, such as the time required. He gave the care of the left Wing to Hermias and Zeuxis, and himself commanded in the right.

Molon drew out likewise all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, but not without the greatest difficulty : for the tumult and confusion, that were raised in the night before, had not yet subsided. At last however, having observed the disposition of the enemy, he placed his Cavalry also upon the Wings ; and the Peltaphori, the Gauls, and all his heavy-armed forces in the centre. The archers, slingers, and all the rest of the light-armed troops, were thrown into the extremity of either Wing : and the Chariots, armed with faulchions, were disposed, at certain distances, in the front of all the army. The left Wing was commanded by his Brother Neolas, and himself led the right.

The two armies now approached each other, and began the combat. The right Wing of Molon remained firm to their engagements, and bravely sustained the charge of Zeuxis. But the left no sooner had beheld the presence of the King, than they joined themselves immediately to his party. This accident, as it inspired the royal troops with double ardour, struck the rebels with consternation and despair. Molon, perceiving what had happened, and being already inclosed on every side, representing also to his mind the cruel torments which he must soon be forced to suffer, in case that he should fall alive into

the power of the enemy, killed himself with his own hands. The rest of the Chiefs likewise, who had joined in the revolt, retired all to their several houses, and embraced a voluntary death. Neolas, escaping from the battle, fled into Persis, to Alexander the brother of Molon. And when he had first killed Molon's Mother, together with his children, and prevailed on Alexander also to consent to die, he then pierced himself with his own sword, and fell upon their bodies. The King plundered the camp of the rebels; and ordered the body of Molon to be exposed upon a cross in the most conspicuous part of Media. This accordingly was done. The body was removed into the district of Callonitis, and was there fixed upon a cross, upon the ascent of the mountain Zagrus. He then reproached the troops with their rebellion, in a long and severe harangue; but gave them afterwards his hand in sign of pardon, and appointed some persons also to conduct them back again to Media, and to quiet the disorders of the country: while himself, returning to Seleucia, restored peace among the neighbouring provinces, and displayed in all his conduct not less gentleness than prudence. But Hermias, still inexorable and severe, urged the guilt of the people of Seleucia; imposed the payment of a thousand Talents upon the city; drove into banishment the magistrates; and dismembered, tortured, and destroyed great numbers of the inhabitants. The King exerted all his power to restrain this fury; employing sometimes intreaties and persuasions, and sometimes interposing his authority. He lessened also the fine that was at first demanded from the citizens, and exacted a hundred and fifty talents only, in full punishment of their offence. And thus, though not without great difficulty, he at last calmed their minds, and restored quiet to the city. When this was done, he appointed Diogenes to be Governour of Media, and Apollodorus of Susiana: and sent Tychon, the chief Secretary, to command in the parts that bordered upon the
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Red Sea. Such was the end of the revolt of Molon, and of the disorders that were occasioned by it in the upper provinces.

The King, elate with this success, and being willing also to restrain for the time to come, the barbarous States, that were contiguous to his Kingdom, from assisting his rebellious subjects with supplies or troops, resolved now to turn his arms against Artabazanes; who governed the Atropatians, with some others of the neighbouring nations, and who, of all the Princes of the country, was the most considerable in strength and power. Hermias apprehending still the danger that must attend an expedition into these upper provinces, for some time stood averse to this design, and was eager to resume his former project, of engaging in a war with Ptolemy. But when he heard that a Son was born to the King, he began to reflect within himself, that among these barbarous nations some misfortune possibly might happen to Antiochus, and that many occasions would arise, in which he might be deprived of life. He consented therefore to all that was proposed: being persuaded, that if he could once be able to destroy the King, he should become the Guardian of his Son, and master of all the Kingdom. When the affair was thus decided, Antiochus began his march with all his forces, passed beyond the Zagrus, and entered the territory of Artabazanes, which lies close to Media, and is only separated from it by a chain of mountains. It extends towards those parts of the Pontus, which are above the river Phasis; and approaches also very near to the Hyrcanian sea. The country abounds with people, who are robust and valiant; and especially with horses: and produces likewise every kind of necessaries that are required in war. This Kingdom, having never been subdued by Alexander, had remained intire, from the time of the destruction of the Persian Empire. But Artabazanes, struck with terror at the King's approach, and being also at this time very far advanced in age, yielded.

yielded to the necessity that pressed him, and submitted without reserve to such conditions as were demanded by the King.

About this time Apollophanes, who was Physician to Antiochus, and who stood in a high degree of favour with him, observing that the insolence and the ambitious views of Hermias no longer were restrained within any bounds, began to entertain some apprehensions with respect to the person of the King, and was still more alarmed by his fears for his own life and safety. He chose the time therefore that was most favourable to his purpose, and pressed Antiochus to raise himself from his security; to be upon his guard against the daring spirit of this Minister; and to obviate in time that lamentable fate, in which his brother had so lately perished. He assured him, that the danger was already very near; and begged that he would pursue without delay such measures as might best secure both himself and all his friends. Antiochus, upon this discourse, acknowledged that he both feared and hated Hermias; and thanked Apollophanes for his concern, and for the courage also which he had shewn, in speaking to him upon such a subject. Apollophanes was overjoyed to find, that he had formed so true a judgement of the sentiments and disposition of the King. And when Antiochus desired him, not to be content with words alone, but endeavour rather, in conjunction with himself, to find out some effectual remedy against the danger, he assured him that he was ready to obey all his orders. Their design was soon concerted. On pretence that the King was seized with a giddiness in his head, the servants of his chamber, with all the ordinary guards, were for some days removed, and his friends alone were admitted to his presence; by which means there was full time and opportunity to communicate the secret to such persons as were proper to be trusted. When they had gained the number that was sufficient for their purpose, a task which, as Hermias was so generally detested,

detested, was by no means difficult, they prepared to carry their project into execution. The Physicians advised that the King should walk abroad as soon as it was day, to take the benefit of the cold morning air. At the appointed time, Hermias was ready to attend him, together with those friends that were engaged in the design. But the rest of the court were absent, not expecting that the King would appear abroad at so unusual an hour. When they were come to a certain solitary place at some distance from the camp, the King turned aside, as if to satisfy some necessary occasion, and they then stabbed Hermias with their poniards. Thus fell this Minister, by a punishment that was far too gentle for his crimes. Antiochus, being thus delivered from his fears, immediately decamped, and directed his route back again to Syria. In every place through which he passed, his actions all were celebrated by the people with the loudest praise; and above the rest, the fate which he had decreed to Hermias. About the same time also, the Wife of Hermias was killed at Apamea by the women of the city, and his children by the children.

As soon as the King arrived at home, and had dismissed his army to their winter quarters, he sent letters to Achæus, filled with expostulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to place upon his head the royal diadem, and usurped the name of King. He assured him likewise, that he was well acquainted with the measures which he had concerted with king Ptolemy, and that in general, he was perfectly informed of those rebellious projects, which he had designed against him. For while Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Artabazanes, Achæus, being persuaded either that the King would perish in the war, or that, before he could be able to return again from a country so remote, himself might enter Syria with an army, and with the assistance of the Cyrrhestæ, who had just before revolted, might force that kingdom to receive his yoke, began his march from
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Lydia with all his army: and when he arrived at Laodicea in Phrygia, he there first assumed the Diadem, and wrote letters in the Royal Name to all the cities; being encouraged chiefly in this design by a certain Exile whose name was Syniris. But as he continued his march forwards, and was ready just to enter Lycaonia, the troops, beginning to perceive that his intention was to lead them against their natural Prince, fell into discontent and mutiny. Achæus therefore, after this declaration of their sentiments, desisted from his project: and in order to convince the army, that he never had designed to enter Syria, he changed the direction of his march, and pillaged the province of Pisidia. And having thus, by the booty that was made, regained the confidence and favour of the troops, he returned back again to his own home. But Antiochus had been fully informed of all that was designed against him. He sent therefore, as we have said, continual messengers, to threaten and reproach Achæus; and in the mean while employed his whole pains and diligence, in completing all the necessary preparations for his war with Ptolemy.

As the Spring approached, having drawn together to Apamea all his forces, he held there a consultation with his friends, to deliberate on the manner in which he best might enter Cœle-syria. Upon this occasion, when many long discourses had been made, concerning the nature of the country, the preparations that were necessary, and the advantage of employing a naval armament, Apollophanes, whom we have lately mentioned, and who was a native of Seleucia, cut short at once every opinion that had been proposed, and said; "that it seemed to be in a high degree absurd, to shew so great eagerness and haste to conquer Cœle-syria, while at the same time Seleucia, the Capital of the Kingdom, and their sacred seat of Empire, was still suffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy: that besides the dishonour that was reflected upon

upon the King, from suffering his chief city to be possessed by an Ægyptian garrison, the place itself was such as would afford many very great advantages for the conduct of the war: that while an enemy was master of it, it must prove a constant obstacle in the way of all their enterprizes; since whenever they should attempt to advance into a distant province, the danger, which would constantly hang over their own kingdom from this city, would oblige them to employ not less pains and preparation, to secure the several posts at home, than those that would be requisite in their expedition against the enemy abroad: but that on the other hand, if they could once regain possession of this place, as their own kingdom would by that means be perfectly secured from insult, so the happy situation also of the city might enable them to pursue with great advantage all their other projects both by land and sea." These sentiments were approved by all the Council. It was resolved therefore to begin the war with attempting to retake Seleucia; which had been possessed by an Ægyptian garrison, from the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. For this Prince, in resentment of the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himself master of this city. When the affair was thus determined, the King ordered Diognetus to steer his course towards Seleucia with the fleet, while himself began his march from Apamea, and came and incamped near the Circus, at the distance of five stadia from the city. He sent also Theodotus the Hermionian into Cœle-syria, with a sufficient body of forces, to secure the passes, and to be ready to act on that side as occasion should require.

The situation of Seleucia, with the country round it, is as follows. The city stands very near the sea, between Cilicia and Phœnice; at the foot of a mountain of an uncommon height, which is called Coryphæus. This mountain, on the western side, is washed by the sea that divides Cyprus and Phœnice: and on the side towards the East, it commands the

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country that lies round Antiochia and Seleucia. The city itself, being situated on the southern side of the mountain, and separated from it by a valley very deep and steep, winds away towards the sea, and is surrounded on almost every side by broken rocks and precipices. In the plain, between the city and the sea, are the Markets and the Suburbs, which are strongly fortified with walls. The city also is inclosed with walls, of an uncommon strength and beauty; and is adorned with temples and other sumptuous edifices. On the side towards the sea, it can only be approached by a steep ascent of steps, which are cut close and deep into the rocks. Not far from the city is the mouth of the river Orontes; which takes it's source near the Libanus and Antilibanus, and passing through the plains of Amyca, flows on to Antiochia, and, having cleansed that city of all it's filth, falls at last into the sea of Cyprus near Seleucia.

Antiochus, upon his first approach, endeavoured, by the assurance of very great rewards, to prevail on the chief governors to surrender the city to him. But when all his offers were rejected, he found means to gain some of the inferior officers to his party; and trusting to the assistance which these had promised, he resolved immediately to attack the city, on the side towards the sea, with the naval forces, and with the land army, on the opposite side. He divided the troops therefore into three separate bodies; and having encouraged them as the occasion required, and promised Crowns and great rewards both to the officers and soldiers, he posted Zeuxis, with the forces that were under his command, against the gate which led to Antiochia, and Hermogenes on the side that looked towards Dioscurium. Ardys and Diognetus were commanded also to attack the port and suburbs. For the officers, that were corrupted by the King, had promised, that, as soon as he should have forced the suburbs, they would deliver the city to him. The signal was now given for the attack, and the troops advanced

vanced from every part with vigour; but chiefly those that were led by Ardys and Diognetus. For on the other sides, the soldiers were forced to crawl, to a considerable distance, upon their hands and feet, and at the same time defend themselves against the enemy, before they could attempt to scale the walls. But in the port and suburbs, there was full room to advance, and to fix their ladders, even without resistance. While the forces therefore from the fleet scaled the port, Ardys, having at the same time forced his way into the suburbs, became master of them with little difficulty. For those that were within the city, being themselves closely pressed on every side, were not able to send any assistance to the rest. When the King was thus master of the suburbs, the officers, who had been gained over to his interests, ran together to Leontius the Governour of the city, and urged him to send a deputation to Antiochus, and endeavour to obtain some fair conditions from him, before the city also should be stormed. Leontius, not suspecting any treachery, and being himself struck also with the consternation which these men now assumed, sent and demanded from Antiochus a promise of life and safety for all that were within the city. The King consented that those who were of free condition should be safe. The number of them was about six thousand. He then entered the city, and not only spared the inhabitants that were free, but permitted those also that had fled from the city to return; and restored to them their possessions, with all their former rights. He secured also, by a sufficient garrison, the port and citadel.

C H A P. VI.

WHILE Antiochus was thus employed, he received letters from Theodotus, who pressed him to advance into Cœle-syria without delay, and promised to deliver up the province to him. The King was for some time doubtful and irresolute, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued. Theodotus, as we have already mentioned, was an Ætolian by his birth, and had performed great services for Ptolemy; but instead of being able to obtain any suitable reward, he on the contrary had almost lost his life. At the time therefore in which Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Molon, perceiving clearly that no favour was to be expected from king Ptolemy, and that the courtiers also had resolved to work his ruin, he prevailed on Panætulus to secure the city of Tyre, while himself seized Ptolemais; and now pressed Antiochus with the greatest earnestness to attempt the conquest of the province. The King therefore, having at last resolved to suspend awhile his designs against Achæus, began his march towards Cœle-syria, by the same route which he before had taken; passed through the Vale of Marfyas, and incamped near the fortress Gerrha, which was situated in the extremity of the valley, upon the lake that covered the defile. But being informed, that Nicolaus, one of the Generals of Ptolemy, had invested Theodotus in Ptolemais, he advanced in haste with the light-armed troops, with design to raise the siege; having left behind him all his heavy forces, and given orders to the Generals to lay siege to Brochi, the other fortress, which stood also upon the lake, and served to guard the entrance of the defile. Nicolaus no sooner heard that the King approached, than he immediately retired; and sent Lagoras a Cretan, and Dorymenes an Ætolian, to secure the passes that were near Berytus. But the King, upon his first approach,

proach, attacked and drove them from their post, and incamped near the passes. And having there received the rest of the troops as they came up, and encouraged them by such words as his designs required, he continued his march forwards, elate with his success, and filled with the fairest hopes. About this time also, Theodotus and Panætulus, with all their friends, advanced to join him, and were received with the greatest marks of favour. The King then took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, with all the armaments and stores. Among these were forty vessels; of which twenty, that were decked ships, completely fitted and equipped, carried each of them at least four ranks of oars. The rest were triremes, biremes, and single boats. The King left the care of all this fleet to Diognetus: and having been informed that Ptolemy had retired to Memphis, and that the forces of the kingdom were drawn together at Pelusium; that the sluices all were opened, and the sweet waters diverted from their course; he desisted from his first design, of marching to attack Pelusium, and leading his army round the country, drew the cities to submission, some by gentle means, and some by force. For those that were slightly fortified surrendered to him at his first approach. But others, which were strongly situated, and well supplied with stores, remained firm against all persuasion, and forced him to incamp before them, and employ much time and pains, to reduce them by a regular siege.

During this time Ptolemy, whose dominions, thus perfidiously attacked, demanded the earliest care, remained wholly insensible of all that was transacted, and shewed not even the least desire to revenge the insult. Such was the weakness of this lazy and luxurious Prince: and so great his disregard of every thing that related to the affairs of war. But Sosibius and Agathocles, who were the first in the administration of the kingdom, agreed together to pursue those measures, which were indeed the best that could be taken in the present

present circumstances. For they resolved, that they would make all the necessary preparations for the war with the greatest diligence, and in the mean while send ambassadors to Antiochus to treat of peace: being persuaded, that by this contrivance, they should give a present check to the ardour of that Prince, and confirm the opinion which he had conceived of Ptolemy, that he would by no means venture to take arms against him, but rather try to terminate the dispute by conferences, and with the assistance of his friends prevail upon him to retire again from Coele-syria. When the project was thus concerted, and themselves also charged with the management and execution of it, they dispatched an embassy to Antiochus without delay. At the same time they engaged the Rhodians also and Byzantines, with the Cyziceni and Ætolians, to send some deputies to mediate a peace. And while these different embassies went and returned again between the kings, they had themselves full leisure to complete their preparations for the war. For having fixed their residence in Memphis, they there gave audience to the ambassadors, and received those especially, that came to them from Antiochus, with great marks of favour, but sent at the same time secret orders, for drawing together to Alexandria all the mercenaries, that were employed in any of the provinces abroad. They made new levies also; and provided such supplies of corn and other stores, as were sufficient not only for the troops that were then assembled, but for all those likewise, who should afterwards arrive to join them. They went down also from time to time, in turn, to Alexandria; that by their presence all things might be obtained, that were in any manner necessary for the war.

The care of providing proper arms, together with the choice and disposition of the troops, was intrusted to Eche-crates of Theffaly, Phoxidas a Melitæan, Eurylochus a Magnesian, Socrates of Boeotia, and Cnopias a citizen of Alorus.

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For it happened, most fortunately indeed at this conjuncture, that these men were present in the country : who, from having served in the wars of Demetrius and Antigonus, had gained some knowledge of real service, and were acquainted with the manner of conducting an army in the field. They began therefore to train all the troops anew, according to the rules of military science : distributing into separate bodies, the soldiers of a different age or country, and giving to each the most useful kind of arms, in the room of those to which they had been before accustomed. They changed the form of the enrolments in which the troops were registered ; and having established new and different orders, more suitable to the present times, they taught, by continual exercise, every separate body, not only to be obedient to command, but also to perform with ease all the steps and motions, that belonged to their respective arms. They appointed also general reviews, and spared no pains to encourage the troops with hopes, or to instruct them in their duty. In this task, they received no small assistance from Andromachus of Aspendus, and Polycrates of Argos, who had lately arrived from Greece, and brought with them all that skill and martial ardour, for which the people of that country are so justly celebrated. They were both distinguished likewise by the splendour of their families, and their wealth. Polycrates especially not only derived his birth from a very ancient house, but was illustrious also from the glory which Mnasiadas his father had acquired, by his victories in the publick Games. These men now exerted all their efforts, to instruct and animate the troops : and both by their harangues in publick to the army, as well as by their private admonitions, they by degrees inspired them with full confidence and courage.

Among the Generals, every one was appointed to the charge which seemed most perfectly adapted to his talents and peculiar skill. Eurylochus the Magnesian commanded a body of three

three thousand men, who were called the Royal Guard; and Socrates of Bœotia the Peltasta, in number about two thousand. Phoxidas the Achæan, with Ptolemy the son of Thraſeas and Andromachus of Aspendus, exercised together in a body the Phalanx and the Grecian mercenaries. The Phalanx, which consisted of twenty-five thousand men, was commanded by Ptolemy and Andromachus; and the mercenaries, who were about eight thousand, by Phoxidas. Seven hundred Horse which belonged also to the Royal Guard, the Cavalry from Afric, and that which had been levied in the country, the whole amounting to about three thousand, were both exercised and commanded likewise by Polycrates. Echecrates also the Theſſalian, to whom the Grecian and all the foreign Cavalry, to the number of two thousand, was intrusted, had trained and disciplined them with such perfect skill and judgement, that they performed the greatest service afterwards in the battle. But among all the rest, there was none that surpassed Cnopias of Alorus, in the management of the troops that were intrusted to his care. These were ten thousand Oretans; among whom were a thousand Neocretans, commanded by Philo, a citizen of Cnossus. There were also among the troops, three thousand Africans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Ammonius of Barce; and a Phalanx likewise of Egyptians, composed of twenty thousand men, and commanded by Sosibius. They had also a body of Gauls and Thracians; among whom four thousand were the established troops that had long been settled in the country; and two thousand of them were lately raised. At the head of these was Dionysius, who was by birth a Thracian. Such were the numbers, and the different nations, of which the army of Ptolemy was now composed.

During this time Antiochus continued to press the siege of Dura. But his efforts all were fruitless: both because the place was by nature strongly fortified, and the garrison also reinforced

forced from time to time by the care of Nicolaus. As the winter therefore now approached, he yielded to the ambassadors of Ptolemy, consented to a truce of four months continuance, and declared, that he was even ready to put an end to the whole dispute, upon conditions the most just and reasonable. This assurance was however very different from his real sentiments. But he was now impatient to return, that his troops might take their winter quarters in Seleucia. For it was now clear beyond all doubt, that Achæus had formed designs against him, and was joined in close connection with king Ptolemy. He dismissed therefore the ambassadors, with orders that they should hasten to return again, and meet him at Seleucia, bringing with them the last determination of their master. He then placed garrisons in all the proper posts, and having left the care of the province to Theodotus, began his march back towards Seleucia, and there sent his army into winter quarters. Nor was he, after this time, in the least solicitous to exercise the troops; being persuaded, that the dispute would soon be brought to a decision, without having recourse again to arms. For he flattered himself, that as he already had subdued many parts of Cœle-syria and Phœnice, the rest would be yielded to him in a conference; and that Ptolemy would never dare to risk a general battle. His ambassadors were also fixed in the same opinion; being deceived by the civilities that were shewn towards them by Sosibius. For this minister had detained them with him still at Memphis, and covered from their knowledge all the preparations, that were at the same time made at Alexandria. By this artful management, when the ambassadors again returned, he was himself alike prepared either for peace or war.

But Antiochus, as he had already subdued his enemies in the field, resolved, if possible, to shew himself superior also in the conferences. When the ambassadors therefore met him at Seleucia, and began to propose the conditions of the peace

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agreeably to their instructions from Sosibius, the King declared, that it was absurd to say, that he had offered any injury to Ptolemy, by entering Cœle-syria with an army; since he had endeavoured only to recover the possession of a country, which belonged to him by a proper right. He shewed, that Antigonus, who was surnamed Cocles, had first subdued this province; and that Seleucus afterwards obtained possession of it: that his own claim was founded upon these strong titles, too clear to be disputed; and that from thence it must be acknowledged, that the country belonged to him alone, and not to Ptolemy. That it was true indeed, that Ptolemy had declared war against Antigonus: but that he had no design to join the province to his own dominions, but only to secure the sovereignty of it to Seleucus. Above all the rest, he urged the joint determination of the Kings, Lyfimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus; who, when they had defeated Antigonus in battle, resolved with one consent that all Syria should be yielded to Seleucus.

In reply to all these reasons, the ambassadors on the other side insisted with no small earnestness, that the treason of Theodotus, and the invasion of Cœle-syria by Antiochus, were a gross and notorious insult, and an open violation of the rights of Ptolemy. They said that Ptolemy the son of Lagus had fairly acquired the sovereignty of the province: and that the assistance, which he furnished to Seleucus in the war, was expressly sent upon these conditions; that Seleucus should possess all Asia, but that Cœle-syria and Phœnice should be left to Ptolemy.

In this manner was the contest long supported, in the course of many deputations and debates, without any prospect of agreement. For as the conferences all were held by the friends alone of either party, there were none that could interpose between them, to moderate and restrain their warmth, whenever they attempted to extend their claims beyond the bounds of justice.

justice. The business also of Achæus was found to be a matter even of greater difficulty than the rest. For it was strongly urged by Ptolemy, that he should be included in the treaty. But Antiochus would scarcely suffer it to be proposed; but exclaimed against it as a most intolerable insult, that Ptolemy should presume to interpose in favour of a Traitor, or even so much as name a man, who had rebelled against his natural Prince.

While each side thus endeavoured to maintain their ground, the spring at last came on, before the contest was in any point decided. Antiochus therefore drew together all his forces, designing to attack Cœle-syria both by land and sea, and make himself master of the other parts of the province. At the same time Ptolemy, having intrusted the conduct of the war to Nicolaus, sent large supplies of stores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a land army. When the troops arrived, the General in concert with Perigenes, who commanded the naval forces, and who was ready to comply with all his orders, began, with great alacrity, to make the necessary disposition for securing the country against the enemy. The fleet was composed of thirty decked vessels, with more than four hundred ships of transport. Nicolaus himself was an Ætolian by birth; and was not inferior, either in courage or experience, to any of the Generals of Ptolemy. He sent away a part of his army, to possess themselves of the defiles of Platanus; while himself, incamping with the rest near Porphyreon, resolved, with the assistance of the fleet which was stationed near him, to oppose on that side the entrance of the king.

Antiochus, arriving now at Marathos, and being met there by the People of Aradus, who came to offer to him their assistance in the war, not only received them into his alliance, but quieted also some contentions, which had been long maintained between the Aradians of the island, and those that

lived upon the continent. He then entered Syria, along the mountain called Theoprosopon, and came to Berytus; having taken Botrys in his march, and set fire to Calamus and Trieres. And when he had sent away Nicarchus and Theodotus, to secure the passes that were near the river Lycus, he from thence continued his march forwards, and incamped upon the banks of the Damura; being still followed by his fleet, which sailed along the coast as he advanced, under the command of Diognetus. From this place, being now joined again by Theodotus and Nicarchus, with the light-armed troops, he advanced to take a view of those defiles that were possessed by Nicolaus; and having carefully observed the nature of the ground, as well as the strength and situation of the several posts, he then returned back again to his camp.

On the following day, having left behind him all his heavy forces under the care of Nicarchus, he advanced with the rest of the army, to attack the enemy in these defiles. The place, in which Nicolaus now was posted, was a narrow ground, which lay between mount Libanus and the sea, and was covered also by an eminence, very rough and steep; and which left the passage along the shore extremely close and difficult. He had placed in every part that was commodious for it a numerous body of troops; and having thrown up also various works, he flattered himself that he should be able, without much difficulty, to prevent the enemy from penetrating through the passes. Antiochus divided all his forces into three separate bodies, and gave one of them to Theodotus, with orders that he should dislodge the enemy from their posts at the foot of the mountain Libanus; and that the second, which was led by Menedemus, at the same time should employ their utmost efforts, to force their passage along the middle of the eminence. The last division was posted close upon the shore under the command of Diocles, the Governour of Parapotamia. The King himself, attended by his guards, took his station in the middle;

middle; that from thence he might be able to discern all that passed, and to send assistance, as occasion should require. At the same time Diognetus and Perigenes made all things ready for the engagement; having drawn their fleets very near to shore, and formed them into such a disposition, that they seemed to make one front with their respective armies. The signal now was made, and the battle at once begun both by land and sea. Upon the sea, because the strength and numbers of the combatants were nearly equal, the success was also equal. But by land, Nicolaus, assisted by his situation, at first gained some advantage in the action. But when Theodotus, having forced the enemy from their posts along the foot of the mountain, fell afterwards with violence upon them from the higher ground, they then fled with great precipitation. About two thousand of them were killed in the pursuit, and an equal number taken prisoners. The rest escaped to Sidon. Perigenes also, though he had hitherto maintained the fight upon the sea with the fairest prospect of success, no sooner saw that the army was completely routed, than he was struck with consternation, and retreated likewise with the fleet towards the same place without any loss.

Antiochus, taking with him all his forces, came and incamped before Sidon. But as the city was completely filled with stores, and the number of the inhabitants, who were now also joined by those that had fled from the late engagement, very great, he made no attempt to take the place: but continued his march forwards towards Philoteria; and sent orders to Diognetus, that he should sail with the fleet to Tyre. Philoteria lies close upon the borders of that lake, into which the river Jordan enters; and from whence, flowing out again, it passes through those plains in which the city of Scythopolis is situated. The King, having obtained possession of both these places, which were surrendered to him upon conditions,

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was now filled with the fairest hopes, with regard to the final issue of the war. For the country, that was subject to these cities, was such as would afford very large supplies, sufficient for all the army; and furnish them with every kind of necessities, in the greatest plenty. Having left in both a proper garrison, he then passed beyond the mountains, and came to Atabyrium; which was situated upon a hill of a globular form, whose height was more than fifteen stadia. In order to become master of this city, he employed the following stratagem. Having engaged the inhabitants in a skirmish, he directed his own troops to retreat, as if they had fled before them; and when he had thus drawn the enemy to a considerable distance, facing suddenly round again, and at the same time sending orders to some troops that were placed in ambuscade, to rise and join in the attack, he killed great numbers of them, and pursuing closely after those that fled, took advantage of their consternation, and entered the city with them without resistance.

About this time, Ceraas, one of the Generals of Ptolemy, came and joined Antiochus; who received him with such high marks of honour, that many other commanders also were soon afterwards induced to follow the example. Among these was Hippolochus of Thessaly; who brought likewise with him a body of four hundred horse.

The King, having secured Atabyrium by a garrison, began his march; and as he advanced, took Pella, Camus, and Gephros. After this success, all the people who inhabited the neighbouring places of Arabia, urged each other to submit, and with one consent embraced his party. Having received therefore from them some provisions for his army, he again continued his march forwards, full of joy and confidence, and passing through the district of Galaditis, made himself master of Abila, taking prisoners also the troops that were

were drawn together for it's defence, under the command of Nicias, who was the kinsman and friend of Meneas. Gadara, which was esteemed to be the strongest of all the cities that were in that part of the country, still remained to be subdued. But no sooner had the king incamped before it, and begun to advance his works, than the inhabitants were struck with terror, and surrendered. Being now informed, that the enemy had assembled in great numbers, at Rabatamana a city of Arabia, and from thence made incursions upon the lands of those Arabians who had submitted to him, he immediately began his march in haste, and came and incamped near the hills, upon which the city was built. And when he had surveyed it round on every side, and remarked that there were two places only by which it was possible to approach it, he there planted his Machines, and made the necessary disposition for the attack. The batteries on one side were commanded by Nicarchus, and on the other by Theodotus; while the King attended alike to both with equal vigilance, and observed the zealous emulation of the Generals. As the attack was made by both with the greatest vigour, and each contended to be the first in battering down the part against which his own machines were pointed, on a sudden, when it scarcely was expected, the wall on both sides fell. After this success, they renewed their assaults against the place continually, with the utmost force and fury, both by night and day. As the numbers however of those that were within the city were very great, their efforts all were ineffectual. But after some time, being informed, by one of the prisoners that were taken, of a certain subterraneous passage, from which the besieged were supplied with water, they filled the mouth of it with wood, and stones, and other such materials: and thus in a short time forced the inhabitants through want of water, to surrender. The King left Nicarchus in the place with a sufficient garrison: and sent away Hippolochus and Ceræas, with a body of five

five thousand Infantry, towards Samaria; to cover the frontiers of the country from all insult, and to protect the people who had submitted to him. He then began his march to Ptolemais with all the army, designing to pass the winter in that city.

C H A P. VII.

IN the course of the same summer, the Pednelissians being besieged by the Selgians, and reduced to great extremity, solicited some assistance from Achæus: and having obtained a favourable answer, they sustained the siege with constancy, in the hope that in a short time they should be relieved. Achæus sent accordingly to their Assistance Garfyris, with six thousand Infantry, and five hundred Horse. The Selgians, being informed of his approach, posted the greatest part of their troops in the defile called Climax; secured the approaches to Saporda; and broke up all the roads. Garfyris, continuing still to advance, entered Milyas, and incamped near Cretopolis. But when he found that the enemy had possessed themselves of all the passes, and stopped his farther progress, he employed the following stratagem. Having ordered his army to decamp, he directed his route back again, as if he had lost all hope of being able to succour the besieged. The Selgians, not suspecting any fraud, left their posts, and retired, some of them to their camp, and some into the city: for it was now the time of harvest. But Garfyris, returning in a short time afterwards by quick and continued marches, seized the passes, which were left without defence; and having secured them all by sufficient guards, under the command of Phaylus, he advanced with the rest of his troops to Perga: and from thence sent deputations to all the people of Pisidia and Pamphylia, exhorting them to secure themselves in time against the growing power of the Selgians, to enter into an alliance with Achæus, and to join their forces with him to as-

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list the Pednelissians. In the mean while the Selgians, being persuaded that, by their knowledge of the country, they should soon be able to strike a terror into Phaylus, sent away a body of troops to dislodge him from his posts. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that, on the contrary, they lost many of their men. They desisted therefore from this attempt, and returning again to the business of the siege, began to press the city more closely than before.

About this time, the Etenneans, who inhabited the mountainous parts of Pisidia beyond Sida, joined Garfyris with eight thousand heavy-armed troops; and the people of Aspendus with four thousand. But those of Sida refused to take any part in this confederacy: partly because they were disposed to favour the interests of Antiochus; but chiefly, because they hated the Aspendians. Garfyris, having increased his army by these new forces, advanced towards Pednelissus; being persuaded that the Selgians, upon his first approach, would raise the siege. But as he was wholly disappointed in this hope, he incamped at a moderate distance from them; and being desirous to relieve the Pednelissians, who were now much pressed by famine, he ordered two thousand men, carrying each a measure of corn, to enter the city in the night: but the Selgians, informed of their approach, fell upon them in their march, killed the greatest part of the detachment, and carried away the corn. After this success, they resolved not only still to press the siege of the city as before, but even to invest Garfyris also in his camp. For in the affairs of war, the Selgians are always very bold and enterprizing, even to rashness.

Leaving therefore behind them the forces only, that were necessary to guard their own intrenchments, they advanced with the rest of their army, and fell with fury upon the camp of the enemy, in many parts at once. Garfyris, being thus suddenly beset with danger upon every side, and perceiving that in many places his intrenchments were already forced,

sent away all his Cavalry, through a certain passage that was left open by the enemy. The Selgians, imagining that they had retreated from the camp through fear, and were hastening to escape by flight, made no attempt to intercept or stop them. But these troops, having taken a circuit round, fell suddenly upon the enemy in their rear, with great force and fury. The Infantry also, though they were almost forced from the intrenchments, resumed again their courage, and returned boldly to the charge. The Selgians, being thus pressed on every side, were at last constrained to fly. At the same time the Pednelissians from the city attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments, and drove them from their camp. As they all fled different ways, not fewer than ten thousand of them were destroyed in the pursuit. Among those that were able to escape, the allies retired to their respective cities; and the Selgians, directing their flight across the mountains, returned back again to their own country.

Garfyris immediately decamped, and pursued with the greatest haste; designing to pass through the defiles, and to appear in sight of Selga, before the inhabitants should be recovered from their consternation, or find time to take the measures that were necessary for their defence. He came accordingly, with all his army, and incamped near the city. The Selgians, disheartened by their late defeat, and not expecting any farther succours from their allies, who had also been involved in the same misfortune, began to apprehend, that both their country and themselves were now lost without resource. Having called together therefore an Assembly, they resolved to depute to Garfyris one of their citizens, whose name was Logbafis. This man had been the guest and intimate friend of that Antiochus who died in Thrace: and having been intrusted by him at his death, with the charge of Laodice, who was afterwards married to Achæus, he had educated her, as his own proper daughter, with a true parental tender-

tenderness and care. The Selgians therefore were persuaded, that no one was more fit to be employed at this conjuncture. But Logbafis, when he had entered into private conference with Garfyeris, so far forgot his duty to his country, that instead of performing the service that was expected from him, he on the contrary pressed this General to send and call Achæus without delay, and promised to betray the city to them. Garfyeris received this offer with the greatest joy, and immediately dispatched some messengers to inform Achæus of the accident. And having consented to a truce with the Selgians, he found means to delay from time to time the conclusion of the treaty, inventing still new doubts and difficulties, with design to afford full leisure for Achæus to arrive, and that Logbafis might be able also to prepare, in concert with himself, the measures that were necessary for the execution of the project.

During this time, as frequent deputations went and returned on either side, it grew at last to be the common practice of the soldiers, to go from the camp into the city, to procure provisions: an indulgence, which in various instances has proved the cause of utter ruin and destruction. For my own part indeed, I am inclined to believe, that man, who is esteemed more dexterous and artful than any other animal, is in truth of all most open to surprize and fraud. How many camps and garrisons, how many of the strongest cities, have fallen a prey to this very kind of treachery? Yet though the examples are thus frequent and notorious, we still, I know not how, are novices, with respect to all such enterprizes, through the want of paying a due attention to those misfortunes in which others, from their negligence, have been involved. We employ great pains and cost, to draw together money and stores, to fortify our towns with walls, and to fill our magazines with arms, in order to secure ourselves against all sudden accidents; but totally neglect those means of safety,

which may be acquired with far greater ease, and which afford a sure resource in every dangerous conjuncture; I mean that knowledge of all past transactions, which is supplied by History, and which always may be gained, with not less pleasure than advantage, even in the shade of a safe and honourable repose.

Achæus arrived at the expected time; and the Selgians, after they had been admitted to a conference with him, flattered themselves with the hope, that they should be able to obtain the most favourable terms of peace. Logbafis, who from time to time had drawn together in small numbers to his house the soldiers that came into the city from the camp, now pressed the citizens to assemble all the people, to take advantage of the favourable disposition of Achæus, and to bring the treaty to it's last conclusion. The Selgians met together therefore in a general Assembly; and, as if they had been secure of bringing the affair to a speedy issue, permitted even the guards to retire from their several posts. At this time Logbafis, having given the signal to the enemy, ordered the soldiers that were with him to stand ready for the engagement, and armed himself also and his Sons. Achæus, taking with him one half of his forces, approached near the city; while Garlyeris with the rest directed his march towards a Temple of Jupiter, called Cesbedium, which stood as a kind of citadel, and commanded all the city. But a certain Shepherd, having perceived by accident what was done, informed the Assembly of it. The soldiers ran in haste, one part towards Cesbedium, and the rest to the other posts; and the people, inflamed with rage, to the house of Logbafis. And finding there a clear discovery of the treason, some of them climbed up to the roof, while others forced their entrance through the doors, and killed Logbafis and his sons, and all the rest that were with him in the house. They then proclaimed liberty to the slaves, and having divided themselves into several bodies, took possession

possession of all the advantageous posts. When Garfyris saw, that Cestedium was already secured against him, he desisted at once from his design. Achæus on the contrary endeavoured to force his entrance through the gates. But the Selgians advanced against him, killed seven hundred of his men, and at last constrained him to retire again, with Garfyris, towards his camp. But after this success, being apprehensive that some disorders might happen in the city, and dreading also the dangers of a siege, they deputed some of their oldest citizens, in the habits of submission, to Achæus; who consented to a treaty with them upon these conditions: "That they should immediately pay four hundred Talents, and after a certain time, three hundred more; and restore all their prisoners to the Pednelissians." Thus the Selgians by their bravery saved their country from the ruin, which the impious treachery of Logbafis had almost brought upon it; and displayed such courage as indeed was worthy of a free and generous people, descended from the stock of Sparta. Achæus, having reduced Milyas, with the greater part also of Pamphylia, continued his march to Sardes; and from thence made perpetual incursions into the territories of Attalus; threatened Prusias with a war; and became very formidable to all the States, that were on this side of mount Taurus.

During the time in which Achæus was employed in the siege of Selga, Attalus, taking with him a body of the Gauls called Tectosages, advanced through the country to recover again the towns of Æolis, with the rest of the cities also that were near, which through terror had submitted to Achæus. The greater part of these immediately surrendered, and were even pleased to be received under his protection. A small number only were reduced by force. Among the first were Cyme, Smyrna, and Phocæa. Temnus also and Ægæa were struck with terror at his approach, and readily submitted. The Teians and the Colophonians sent some deputies to meet him, and

and surrendered their cities at discretion. He granted to them the same conditions as before, and took some hostages of their fidelity. But among all the rest, the ambassadors from Smyrna were received with the greatest marks of favour; because the people of that city had persisted always in a close attachment to his interests. From hence, continuing his march forwards, and passing the river Lycus, he traversed Myfia, struck with terror the garrisons of Didyma and Carfa, and gained possession of both those fortresses, which were surrendered to him by Themistocles, whom Achæus had intrusted with the government of that part of the country. Having then wasted all the plain of Apia, he passed the mountain Pelecas, and came and incamped near the river Megistus. During his stay in this place, there happened to be an Eclipse of the moon. The Gauls, who had long supported with the greatest pain the difficulties of a march, in which their wives and children followed them in chariots, regarded this event as an evil portent, and refused to advance any farther. Attalus, though he now no longer wanted the assistance of these troops, and had experienced likewise, that in all their marches they still were separated from the other forces, that they also incamped apart, and were at all times haughty and untractable, was thrown however by this accident into great perplexity. For as he dreaded, on the one hand, that they would now join Achæus, and fall, together with that Prince, upon some part of his dominions, so on the other hand, he was no less apprehensive, that he should draw upon himself the censure of mankind, in case that he should surround them with the rest of his army, and thus destroy a body of men who had trusted themselves to his protection, and under that security had followed him into Asia. At last therefore he resolved to seize the occasion of their present discontent, and promised, that he would lead them to a place from whence they might again pass into Europe; that he would allot a country also to them, sufficient for their settlement;

ment; and for the time to come, be always ready to advance their interests, and comply with every just demand. He conducted them accordingly to the Hellespont: and having shewn great marks of favour to the inhabitants of Ilium, Lampfacus, and Alexandria, who had all remained firm in their attachment to him, he then returned to Pergamus with his army.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEN the Spring approached, Antiochus and Ptolemy, having completed all their preparations, were now ready by a battle to decide the war. Ptolemy therefore began his march from Alexandria, with seventy thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, and seventy-three Elephants. Antiochus, being informed of his approach, drew together also all his forces. His army was composed of five thousand light-armed troops, Daians, Carmanians, and Cilicians, under the command of Byttacus a Macedonian; and twenty thousand men, selected from all parts of the kingdom, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Theodotus the Ætolian, who had deserted from the service of king Ptolemy. The greater part of these wore silver bucklers. There was a Phalanx also of twenty thousand men, commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus the Hermionian: two thousand Agrianians and Persians, armed with bows and slings, and with them a thousand Thracians; under the care of Menedemus, a citizen of Alabanda: five thousand Medes, Cissians, Caddusians, and Carmanians, who received their orders from Aspasianes a Mede: ten thousand men from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, conducted by Zabdiphilus: five thousand Grecian mercenaries, commanded by Hippolochus of Theffaly; fifteen hundred Cretans, by Eurylochus; and a thousand Neocretans, by Zeles of Gortyna: a thousand Cardacians, and five hundred Lydian archers, under the conduct of Lyfimachus a Gaul. The
number

number of the Cavalry was about six thousand. Four thousand of them were commanded by Antipater, the Brother of the King; and the rest by Themison. Thus the whole army of Antiochus consisted of seventy-two thousand Foot, and six thousand horse; with a hundred and two Elephants.

Ptolemy, advancing to Pelusium, and having waited there to receive the troops that were not yet come up, and to distribute provisions among his army, again decamped, and passing through a dry and desert country, along mount Cassius, and the place that was called the Pits, arrived at Gaza. And having allowed some time for the refreshment of his army, he continued his route forwards by slow and gentle marches, and on the fifth day fixed his camp at the distance of fifty stadia from the city of Raphia; which is situated beyond Rhinocorura, and stands the nearest towards Egypt, of all the cities of Coele-syria.

At the same time Antiochus also began his march, and passing beyond Raphia, came and incamped, in the night, at the distance of ten stadia from the enemy. But within some days afterwards, being desirous to possess himself of some more advantageous posts, and at the same time to inspire his troops with confidence, he advanced so near to Ptolemy, that the armies were now separated from each other by the distance only of five stadia. Frequent engagements therefore happened every day between the troops, that went abroad to get water, or provisions; and many skirmishes, both of the Infantry and Cavalry, in the space that was between the camps.

During this time, Theodotus formed an attempt, that was worthy indeed of an Aetolian, but which shewed no small degree of courage and enterprizing boldness. From his long acquaintance with the court of Ptolemy, he knew all the customs of the King, and the manner in which he lived. Attended therefore by no more than two companions, he went over to the camp of the enemy, a little before break of day.

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As the darkness screened his face from all discovery, so his habit likewise passed unobserved, because there were various kinds of dresses in the camp. He advanced boldly therefore to the Royal Tent, which in the late skirmishes he had easily remarked, and entered it unnoticed by the guards. But he found not the person whom he sought. For this indeed was the Tent of State, in which the King usually supped, and admitted his friends to audience: but he slept in a different tent. Theodotus therefore, when he had searched in vain in every corner, wounded two officers that were sleeping there, and killed Andreas the Physician of the King, and then returned again with safety; having received some slight disturbance only as he left the camp. And thus, as far as courage only was required, he fully accomplished his design. But he failed through want of prudence, in not having examined with the necessary care, in what part of the camp the King was used to sleep.

The two Kings, when they had thus for five days remained in fight, resolved at last to engage in a decisive action. As soon therefore as Ptolemy began first to put his troops in motion, Antiochus also drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle. The Phalanxes, on either side, with the rest of the troops likewise that were armed after the Macedonian manner, stood opposite to each other in the centre. The wings, on the part of Ptolemy, were thus disposed. Upon the left, stood Polycrates, with the Cavalry that was under his command. Between him and the Phalanx, were first the Cretan forces; after these, the Royal Guards; then the Pelastæ, led by Socrates; and in the last place, close joining to the Phalanx, the Africans, armed after the manner of the Macedonians. Upon the right Wing, stood Echebrates with his Cavalry. Close to him upon his left, were placed first the Gauls and Thracians; next to these, the Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phoxidas; and after them

the Phalanx of Egyptians. Forty of the Elephants were posted on the left Wing, in which Ptolemy himself designed to engage; and thirty-three upon the right, at some distance before the mercenary Cavalry.

Antiochus placed sixty of his elephants, under the command of Philip, who was his foster-brother, before the right Wing, which he designed to lead himself to the charge against Ptolemy. Behind the Elephants, were two thousand Horse, commanded by Antipater, and close to these two thousand more, which were ranged in the figure called the Forceps. Joining to the Cavalry, in front, stood first the Cretans; then the Grecian mercenaries; and between these and the troops that were armed after the Macedonian manner, the five thousand men that were under the command of Byttacus a Macedonian. On the left Wing stood Themison, with two thousand Cavalry. Next to these, were the Lydian and Cardacian Archers; then the light armed troops of Menedemus, which amounted to about three thousand; afterwards the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians; and lastly, joining to the Phalanx, the forces from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. The remaining part of the Elephants were posted also before this Wing, under the command of Myiscus, one of the young men that had been educated with the King.

When the armies were thus ranged in order and ready to engage, the two kings, attended by their officers and friends, advanced along the front of all the Line, and endeavoured to inspire their troops with courage; especially the Phalanxes, in which they had placed their greatest hopes. Upon this occasion, Ptolemy was accompanied by his Sister Arsinoë, and by Sosibius also and Andromachus; Antiochus, by Theodotus and Nicarchus: for these, on both sides, were the Generals, by whom the Phalanxes were commanded. The motives that were urged to animate the troops were on either side the same. For as these princes had both been seated so lately upon the throne,

throne, and had themselves performed no actions that were worthy to be mentioned, they were forced to have recourse alike to the same and great exploits of their respective ancestors. But above all the rest, they promised also on their own part, great rewards, as well to every officer apart, as in general to all the army : and in a word, employed not exhortations only, but prayers also and intreaties, to engage them to perform their duty with alacrity and vigour.

In this manner, riding along from rank to rank, they addressed all the troops in turn, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes by Interpreters. But when Ptolemy, with his Sister, came to the left Wing of his army, and Antiochus, attended by his guards, had taken his station also upon his right, the signal was sounded to engage, and the elephants, approaching first, began the combat. Among those that belonged to Ptolemy, there were some that advanced boldly against their adversaries. It was then pleasing to behold the soldiers, engaged in close combat from the Towers, and pushing against each other with their spears. But the Beasts themselves afforded a far nobler spectacle, as they rushed together, front to front, with the greatest force and fury. For this is the manner in which they fight. Twisting their tusks together, they strive, each of them with his utmost force, to maintain their own ground, and to move their adversary from his place. And when the strongest of them has at last pushed aside the trunk of the other, and forced him to turn his flank, he then pierces him with his tusks, in the same manner as Bulls in fighting wound each other with their horns. But the greater part of the beasts that belonged to Ptolemy declined the combat. For this usually happens to the Elephants of Afric ; which are not able to support either the smell or cry of the Indian Elephants. Or rather perhaps, they are struck with terror at the view of their enormous size and strength ; since even before they approach near together, they frequently turn

their backs and fly. And this it was, which at this time happened. As soon therefore as these animals, being thus disordered by their fears, had fallen against the ranks of their own army, and forced the Royal Guards to break the Line, Antiochus, seizing the occasion, and advancing round on the outside of the elephants, charged the Cavalry which was commanded by Polycrates, in the extremity of the left wing of Ptolemy. At the same time also, the Grecian mercenaries, who stood within the elephants, near the Phalanx, advanced with fury against the Peltastæ, and routed them with little difficulty, because their ranks likewise were already broken by the elephants. Thus the whole left Wing of the army of Ptolemy was defeated, and forced to fly.

Echecrates, who commanded in the right, for some time waited to observe, what would be the event of the engagement upon the left. But when he saw that the dust was driven fast towards them, and that their elephants fled wholly from the combat, he ordered Phoxidas, who commanded the mercenaries of Greece, to advance against the troops that stood opposite to him in front; while himself, having directed his own Cavalry, together with those that were drawn up behind the elephants, to defile along the wing, till they had stretched beyond the elephants of the left wing of Antiochus, charged the Cavalry of that wing both in flank and rear, and soon caused a general rout. Phoxidas also, with the troops that were under his command, at the same time forced the Arabians and the Medes to fly in great disorder. Thus Antiochus, who had gained the victory upon his right, was completely vanquished on his left. The Phalanxes alone, being thus stripped of both their wings, remained intire in the middle of the plain, and knew not what they should expect or fear.

While Antiochus was pursuing his victory upon the right, Ptolemy, who had retreated behind his Phalanx, advanced
now

now into the centre, and shewing himself to both armies, struck the enemy with terror, and inspired his own forces with alacrity and confidence. Andromachus therefore and Sosibius, levelling their spears, advanced without delay against the enemy. The troops of Syria, who were all select men, for some time sustained the charge. But those that were commanded by Nicarchus, immediately turned their backs and fled. During this time, Antiochus, young and unskilled in war, and judging, from the victory which himself had gained, that the same good fortune had attended also in every other part of the action, still pursued with eagerness the troops that had fled before him. But after some time, when one of the older Generals had desired him to remark the dust, that was driven towards his camp by the Phalanx of the enemy, he then saw what had happened, and ran back in haste, attended by his Guards, towards the place of battle. But as the troops were now completely routed, he was forced to retreat to Raphia: being persuaded that, as far as the success had depended on himself, he had gained a perfect victory; and that the battle had been only lost, through the want of spirit, and base cowardice of his troops. Ptolemy, having thus obtained by his Phalanx a compleat and decisive victory, and killed also, by his Cavalry and mercenaries of the right wing, great numbers in the pursuit, returned back again to his camp; and on the following day, when he had first interred his soldiers that were slain, and spoiled the bodies of the enemy, he directed his march towards Raphia. Antiochus had at first designed to draw together all his troops, and to incamp without the walls of Raphia: but as the greater part had fled for safety into the city, he was forced also himself to enter it. But early on the following day, he directed his route towards Gaza, with the remains of his army, and there incamped; and from thence sent to obtain permission of Ptolemy, to bury his men also that

that were slain. He had lost in the action scarcely fewer than ten thousand of his Infantry, with more than three hundred Horse. Above four thousand also were taken prisoners. Three of his elephants were killed in the engagement, and two died afterwards of their wounds. On the part of Ptolemy were slain fifteen hundred Foot, and seven hundred Horse. But seventeen of his elephants were killed, and a greater number taken. Such was the end of the Battle of Raphia between these two Princes, for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria.

When Antiochus had discharged the last duties to his soldiers who had fallen in the action, he directed his route back again towards his own kingdom. At the same time Ptolemy took possession of Raphia without resistance, with the rest also of the neighbouring cities; which all seemed to strive together, which should be the first, to return again to his dominion, and receive him as their master. For in such conjunctures, all men indeed are ready to accommodate their resolutions to the present times. But the people especially of Cœle-syria are more strongly led by nature to this compliance, than those of any other country. At this time however, their conduct must in part be ascribed to that affection, by which they were before inclined towards the kings of Egypt. For the multitude, through all the province, had always been accustomed to regard the princes of this family with sentiments of high respect and veneration. Ptolemy therefore was received among them with crowns, sacrifices, altars, and every other honour, which flattery was able to invent.

As soon as Antiochus arrived in safety at the city which was called by his own name, he sent Antipater his nephew, and Theodotus, ambassadors to Ptolemy to treat of peace. For he feared that if the enemy should now pursue their victory, his own subjects, disheartened by the late defeat, might perhaps revolt; and that Achæus would be ready also to take advantage

vantage of the occasion, which was so favourable for his designs against him. Ptolemy never once reflected upon any of these circumstances: but, satisfied with having thus gained a victory, which he scarcely had the courage to expect, and finding himself again possessed of Cœle-syria, was so far from being averse to peace, that on the contrary he embraced it with immoderate haste; and fled again to that repose, to which his indolence and habitual vices forcibly inclined him. As soon therefore as the ambassadors arrived, having first given vent to some slight expostulations and complaints, with respect to the attempt that had been formed against him by Antiochus, he immediately consented to a truce for a year, and sent away Sofibius to ratify the treaty. And when he had passed three months in Syria and Phœnice, and restored peace and order among all the cities, he left the government of the country to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned back again, with his Sister and his favourites, to Alexandria: having finished the war in a manner which occasioned no small surprize among the people of his kingdom, who were acquainted with his former course of life. Antiochus, as soon as the treaty was concluded by Sofibius, resumed his first design, and began to make the necessary preparations for his war against Achæus. Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

C H A P. IX.

ABOUT this time, an Earthquake happened at Rhodes, which threw down their vast Colossus, together with a great part of the walls and naval arsenals. But the Rhodians, by their wise and dexterous management, so well improved the accident, that, instead of being destructive to them, it brought many great advantages to their city. So different are the effects of prudence and activity, from those of negligence and folly, as well in publick affairs, as in the business also of private life. For through the latter of these qualities,
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even happy events become pernicious; while the former, on the contrary, convert calamities into benefits. Thus the Rhodians, exaggerating all the horrors of the accident that had befallen them, and preserving still a grave and solemn dignity, both in the addresses that were made in publick by their ambassadors, and in their own particular deportment, induced the cities, and especially the Kings, not only to send gifts of very great value, but even to esteem it a favour, that their presents were accepted by them. From Hiero and Gelo, they received seventy-five Talents of silver, one part of which was paid immediately, and the rest in a short time afterwards, to furnish oil for the games of the Gymnasium; some silver cauldrons with their bases; some cisterns for holding water; ten talents, to defray the expence of sacrifices; and ten more, to increase the number of the citizens: so that the whole amounted to near a hundred Talents. The same Princes exempted also from all imposts the vessels that sailed from Rhodes; and gave to them likewise fifty Catapults, of the length of three Cubits. And yet after all this bounty, as if they had themselves received some favours from the Rhodians, they erected in the publick place of their city a Statue of the People of Rhodes, in the act of receiving a Crown from another Statue, which represented the People of Syracuse. Ptolemy also engaged to furnish them with three hundred Talents of Silver; a million measures of corn; with timber to build ten Quinqueremes and ten Triremes; some square pieces also of fir, the measure of which together was forty thousand Cubits; a thousand Talents of brasse coin; three thousand weight of hemp; three thousand pieces of cloth for sails; three thousand Talents for replacing their Colossus; a hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty labourers; with fourteen Talents by the year for their subsistence; twelve thousand measures of corn for their games and sacrifices; and twenty thousand, for the subsistence of the ten Triremes. The chief

part of these presents was immediately sent to Rhodes ; together with a third part also of all the money. In the same manner likewise, Antigonus supplied them with ten thousand pieces of timber, that was proper to be cut into solid blocks, from eight to sixteen cubits ; five thousand planks, of seven cubits ; three thousand weight of iron ; a thousand also, of pitch, with a thousand measures of tar ; and promised to add besides, a hundred Talents. His wife Chryseis sent, on her part, a hundred thousand measures of corn, and three thousand weight of lead. Seleucus also, the father of Antiochus, not content with having discharged from imposts the Rhodian vessels that sailed to any part of his dominions, gave them also ten Quinqueremes completely equipped ; two hundred thousand measures of corn ; ten thousand cubits of timber ; and a thousand weight of hair and resin. The same generosity was also shewn towards them, by Prusias, Mithridates, and all the other princes, who then reigned in Asia ; Lyfanius, Olympicus, and Limnæus. And with regard to the cities, which assisted them as far as their abilities would reach, they are scarcely to be numbered. If we look back therefore only to the time in which the Rhodians were first established in their city, we may think it perhaps a matter of surprize, that, in the course of so short a period, they should have gained so considerable an increase, with respect both to the private riches of the citizens, and the publick wealth also of the State. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the great advantages, which they derive from the happy situation of their city, together with those plentiful supplies, that have flowed into it from abroad, we shall then find no cause of wonder ; but rather be persuaded, that the condition of this people might have been even still more full and flourishing.

In recounting thus minutely all the circumstances that attended this event, my design was first, to shew the uncommon zeal and earnestness, with which the Rhodians struggled to

restore their country to its former state ; a zeal, which indeed is highly worthy both of praise and imitation : and in the next place, that it might from hence be seen, how sparingly the Princes of the present age dispense their bounty, and of how little value are the Gifts, which the States and Cities now receive. For from these examples those Princes may be taught, not to boast of their munificence, when they have bestowed perhaps a present of four or five Talents only ; nor expect, that the Greeks should offer to them in return the same acknowledgements and honours, as were decreed to the Kings of former times. The Cities also on the other hand, when they have seen the immense value of the gifts, that were once bestowed upon them, may become more reserved and prudent, and not prostitute their best and noblest honours, in return for benefits of little worth, but endeavour rather to make so just a distribution of their favours, as may preserve their own dignity undiminished, and convince mankind, that the Greeks are still superior to all other people. We now return again to the place, in which we broke off our relation of the Social War.

When the Summer now was come, in which Agetas was the Prætor of the Ætolians, and Aratus of the Achæans, Lysurgus, King of Sparta, was recalled again by the Ephori, who had discovered that the suspicions, through which he had been forced to fly, were false. He returned therefore to the city from Ætolia, and immediately concerted measures with Pyrrhias an Ætolian, who was then the General of the Elean forces, for making an incursion into the Messenian territory. Aratus, at his first entrance upon his office, had found that all the mercenary troops of the Republick were broken and dispersed ; and that the Cities no longer paid their contributions to the war : for such were the effects, as we have before observed, of the inactive and unskilful conduct of Eperatus the former Prætor. Having called together therefore the Achæan States,

States, and obtained, by his persuasions, such a decree as the circumstances of affairs required, he applied himself with vigour to remedy the past disorders, and complete all the necessary preparations for the war. By this Decree it was resolved, that the Achæans should receive into their pay a body of new mercenaries, consisting of eight thousand Foot and five hundred Horse; that they should raise also in Achaia three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; that among these, there should be five hundred Foot of Megalopolis, armed with brazen bucklers, and fifty Horse; with an equal number of Argians; and that three vessels also should sail towards Acte and the Gulph of Argos, and three be sent to cover Patræ, and Dyme, with the rest of the places that stood along that coast.

While Aratus was thus employed, Pyrrhias and Lycurgus, having agreed together, that they should both at the same time begin their march, advanced towards the borders of Messenia. Aratus, being informed of their design, took with him the mercenaries, and a part also of the Achæan forces, and came to Megalopolis, to succour the Messenians. Lycurgus, having gained by some secret practices a fortress of the Messenians, called Thalamæ, continued his route from thence with the greatest haste, in order to join the Eleans. But Pyrrhias on the other hand, who had begun his march from Elis with a very small body of troops, was opposed upon the borders of Messenia by the Cyparissians, and forced to return. Lycurgus therefore, being thus prevented from joining the Eleans, as he had at first designed, and not able, with his own forces, to attempt any action of importance, made some slight incursions only upon the neighbouring country, for the sake of gaining the supplies that were necessary for his troops, and then led his army back again to Sparta. When the enemy had thus failed in their design, Aratus, in order to defeat all such attempts for the time to come, prevailed on Taurion, and the people

of Messenia, to draw together severally five hundred Foot and fifty Horse, for the defence of the Messenians, Megalopolitans, Argians, and Tegeans, whose lands, lying close upon the borders of Laconia, were chiefly exposed to insult, while himself, with the Achæans and the mercenaries, engaged to cover those parts of Achaia that were situated on the side of Ætolia and Elea. He afterwards employed all his pains, to calm the contests of the Megalopolitans, and to restore peace among them, as the Achæans had directed in their late Decree. For this people, whose state and city not long before had been subverted by Cleomenes, were wholly destitute of many things, and scantily supplied with all. They retained indeed the same high spirit as before; but were utterly unable to discharge or satisfy, either their own particular wants, or the publick necessities of the State. Hence arose contention, jealousy, and hot debates: for such are the effects which naturally spring, as well in publick States as among private men, whenever they are pressed by penury, and deprived of the resources that are necessary for carrying into execution their designs. Their first dispute related to the manner in which the city should be built. For some maintained, that it was necessary to contract the former circuit of the walls, that thus they might be able to finish what they should begin, and to defend the city also against an enemy. For it was judged to have been the only cause of their late misfortune, that their city was of very great extent, and the inhabitants in proportion few. They contended likewise, that those who were rich among the citizens, should give up a third part of their lands, in order to obtain some new inhabitants. Others on the contrary refused with equal warmth, either to relinquish their possessions, or consent that the circuit of the city should be lessened. But the chief and most important subject of their contests was a new body of Laws, framed for their use by Prytanis, a Peripatetic of distinguished eminence, who was sent to them for that purpose

purpose by Antigonus. Aratus employed all the methods that seemed likely to be most effectual for calming these disorders, and at last accomplished his design. Their dissensions were all composed: and the conditions of the agreement engraved upon a Column, which was erected near the altar of Vesta at Omarium. He then went from Megalopolis, to be present in the Council of the Achæan states: having left the mercenaries to the care of Lycus a citizen of Pharæ; who, on account of the contributions which his city had advanced for the uses of the war, stood the next in authority and command, after the Achæan Prætor.

The Eleans, dissatisfied with Pyrrhias, invited Euripidas, who was also an Ætolian, to be their General. Euripidas, having waited till the Achæans were assembled together to hold their general Council, began his march at the head of two thousand Foot and sixty Horse, and passing through the Pharæan district wasted all the country as far as to the borders of the Ægian territory; and when he had gained an immense booty, he retired towards Leontium. But Lycus, being informed of what had happened, marched away with diligence; and falling suddenly upon the enemy in their retreat, he killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners; among whom were some officers of eminence, Phyllias, Antanor, Clearchus, Androlochus, Evanoridas, Aristogiton, Nicaspippus, Aspasius. He became master also of their arms, and all their baggage. About the same time the commander of the Achæan fleet steered his course to Molycræa, and returned again with near a hundred slaves. From thence, sailing towards Chalcia, and being there attacked by some vessels of the enemy, he took two long barks with all their men. He took also a small frigate, completely equipped, near Rhium in Ætolia. This success, which happened at the same time upon land and sea, spread so great a plenty both of money and provisions through the Achæan army, that the troops were
now

now fully assured that their stipends would be regularly paid, and the cities also began to hope, that they no longer should be loaded with contributions for the war.

About the time of these transactions, Scerdilaidas, being incensed against king Philip, because some part of the sum, which this prince had engaged to pay to him, remained undischarged, sent away a fleet of fifteen ships, designing to recover by surprize and fraud the money that was due. These vessels first steered their course to Leucas; and being received into the port as friends in consequence of the late alliance, they committed indeed, through want of opportunity, no other hostilities in the place: but when Agathynus and Cassander, citizens of Corinth, came and cast anchor, as friends also, in the harbour, with four ships which belonged to Taurion, they immediately attacked them in direct breach of the alliance, and having taken both the captains and their vessels, sent them away to Scerdilaidas. After this exploit, they directed their course to Malea, pillaged many vessels in their way, and carried the merchants into slavery.

As the season of the harvest now approached, and Taurion had neglected to secure by a sufficient force the frontiers of those cities, which have before been mentioned, Aratus drew together a select body of troops, to cover and support the Argians, who were employed in gathering in their corn. About the same time also, Euripidas began his march at the head of the Eleans, with design to ravage the lands of the Tritæans. But when Lycus and Demodocus, who commanded the Achæan Cavalry, were informed that these troops had quitted their own province, they assembled all the forces of the Patræans, Dymæans, and Pharæans, together with the mercenaries, and resolved to make incursions into the Elean territory. Advancing therefore as far as to the town called Phyxium, they sent away the cavalry and light-armed forces to waste the country, having at the same time concealed their heavy-

heavy-armed troops in ambuscade in the neighbourhood of the town. The Eleans ran together from every part to attack the pillagers; and as these retired before them, they began also to pursue with eagerness. But Lycus, with the troops that were placed in ambuscade, suddenly arose and charged the foremost of them. The Eleans, upon the first appearance of these heavy-armed forces, immediately turned their backs and fled. About two hundred of them were killed in the place, and eighty taken prisoners; while the Achæans retreated with their booty, without any loss. About this time, the commander also of the Achæan fleet made frequent descents upon Ætolia, in the neighbourhood of Calydon and Naupactus; plundered all the coast; and twice defeated the troops that were sent against him. He took prisoner also Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus. But because he had formerly been connected with the Achæans by the ties of hospitality, instead of being sold together with the rest, he was dismissed, within a short time afterwards, without any ransom. About the same time also, Agetas the Ætolian Prætor, having assembled all the forces of the country, ravaged the whole provinces of Acarnania and Epirus: and when he had accomplished all that he had designed, he returned back again, and dismissed the Ætolians to their several cities. The Acarnanians on the other hand made an incursion into the neighbourhood of Stratus. But because their troops were on a sudden seized with a Panic Terror, they were forced to return back again with some disgrace, though not with any loss. For the inhabitants of Stratus, being apprehensive that their intention was to draw them into an ambuscade, feared to follow them in their retreat.

About this time, a piece of feigned treachery was practised in Phanoteus, in the following manner. Alexander, who was intrusted by king Philip with the government of Phocis, formed the design of surprizing the Ætolians, and employed for that purpose Jason, who commanded under him in Phanoteus,

teus. This Officer, having sent some messengers to Agetas the Etolian Prætor, engaged to surrender to him the citadel of the city. The agreement soon was settled, and confirmed also by the accustomed oaths. On the appointed day, Agetas advanced with his army in the night into the neighbourhood of Phanoteus: and having selected a hundred of the bravest of his troops, he sent them away to take possession of the citadel, and concealed the rest at some distance without the walls. In the mean while Alexander, with a sufficient body of troops, stood in readiness within the city; and as soon as Jason, agreeably to his Oath, had introduced the hundred Etolians into the citadel, he shewed himself and fell upon them, so that they were forced immediately to surrender. Agetas, as soon as the day appeared, perceived what had happened, and retreated back again with his forces; having been taken in a snare, not unlike to those, which himself had often practised against others.

About the same time also, Philip reduced Bylazora, the largest city of all Pæonia, and which commanded likewise those defiles, that led from Dardania into Macedon. By this conquest therefore he was freed from all farther apprehensions, with regard to the people of that province. For as long as he should remain master of this city, it would be scarcely possible that they should make incursions into his kingdom. When he had secured the place by a sufficient garrison, he sent away Chryfogonus, to draw together with all diligence the forces of the upper Macedon: and himself, taking with him the troops that were in Bottia and Amphaxis, began his march and came to Edeſa. And being in this place joined by Chryfogonus, he advanced with all his army; and having on the sixth day passed beyond Larissa, and continued his march all night with the greatest haste, he arrived near Melitea about break of day, and began immediately to scale the city. The inhabitants, who were wholly unprepared against

this accident, were so struck with consternation, that they might soon have been reduced with little difficulty. But because the ladders were too short, the King failed in the attempt.

Among all the faults into which the leaders of an army are at any time betrayed, there are none that more justly deserve our censure, than that which was now committed. For how can those Generals be excused, who, without having taken any due precaution, without measuring the walls, and rocks, and other places by which they design to approach a city, rush blindly on to the attack? Or can those on the other hand be thought less worthy of reproach and blame, who, when they have informed themselves of the height and dimensions of these objects, leave to any persons, whom chance shall offer, the care of preparing the ladders, with all the other necessary instruments: those instruments which, though they may indeed be framed by a moderate degree of skill, are yet of the utmost importance in their use? For in things of this kind nothing that is necessary can be omitted, without some loss. The neglect indeed, how small soever, will immediately be followed by it's punishment. For either in the very time of the attack, the bravest of the troops are lost: or when they are forced to desist from their design, and to retire before an exulting enemy, who despises their ineffectual efforts, they are then exposed to a still greater danger than before. The truth of this remark might be shewn from numberless examples. For among all that have failed in such attempts, the greater part have either perished in the place, or been involved in the utmost hazard and distress, while few on the other hand have been able to escape with safety. It must also be acknowledged that such attempts, especially when frustrated, draw after them distrust and hatred; and afford standing and a publick admonition, not to those only that are present, but to all who hear of the event, to secure themselves effectually against such enemies. Those therefore, who are intrusted with the conduct

of affairs, ought never to engage in such designs, unless the means that are required for carrying them into execution have all first been regulated with the nicest care. With regard to the measure and construction of ladders and other instruments, there is a method for it, which is both easy and infallible. But we must now proceed in our narration: and shall take perhaps, at some future time, occasion to resume this subject; and explain the manner in which such enterprizes may be conducted, with the best assurance of success.

The King, when he thus had failed in his design, went and incamped near the river Enipeus, and drew together, from Larissa and the other cities, all the stores, which he had collected during the preceding winter, in order to form the siege of Thebes in Phthiotis: for the chief design and purpose of his present expedition was to render himself master of this place. The city of Thebes is situated near the sea, at the distance of three hundred stadia from Larissa, and commands both Thessaly and Magnesia; those parts especially of the latter Province which lie contiguous to Demetrias; and in the former, the districts of Pharsalus and Phææ. With this advantage, the Ætolians, who were at this time in possession of the city, fell frequently with great success upon the neighbouring country, and occasioned no small loss to the people of Demetrias and Pharsalus, and even to those of Larissa likewise: for they often extended their incursions as far as to the plain Amyræum. Philip therefore, having resolved to employ his utmost efforts, to become master of the place, brought together a hundred and fifty Catapults, with twenty-five Machines for throwing stones, and having divided his army into three separate bodies, lodged himself in the nearest posts. The first division incamped near Scopium; the second, in the neighbourhood of Heliotropium; and the last was seated upon a hill which overlooked the city. He fortified the space also that was between the camps, with an intrenchment and a double

double palisade; and with towers of wood, placed at the distance of a hundred paces from each other, and secured by a sufficient guard. And when he had collected together all the stores, and completed the preparations that were necessary, he ordered the machines to approach, and began his attack against the citadel. During the three first days, the besieged resisted all his efforts with so great bravery and firmness, that the Works were not much advanced. But when the continual skirmishes, and the darts that were discharged without any intermission, had destroyed or wounded great numbers of the inhabitants, they then slackened in their ardour, and afforded leisure to the Macedonian miners to begin their work. But such was the difficulty of the ground, that after nine days continued labour, they were scarcely able to approach near the walls. As they persisted however in the task by turns, without any respite either by day or night, in the course of three days more they had undermined the wall to the length of two hundred paces, and placed props of timber under it. But these in a short time sunk beneath the weight; so that the wall fell down, even before the Macedonians had set fire to the wood. They then cleared away, with the greatest diligence, the ruins of the breach, and were just ready to advance to the assault, when the besieged were struck with terror and surrendered. By this conquest the king not only secured both Thessaly and Magnesia against the incursions of the Ætolians, and deprived that people of their accustomed booty, but at the same time also convinced the troops, that if they had failed in the siege of Palæa, the treachery of Leontius had been alone the cause of their miscarriage, and that he had justly punished him with death. Being thus become master of the place, he ordered the inhabitants to be sold for slaves; and having filled the city likewise with a colony from Macedon, he changed the name of it from Thebes to Philippi.

About this time, some ambassadors arrived again from

Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and from Ptolemy, to mediate a peace. Philip, having repeated to them the answer which he had made before, that he was heartily disposed to embrace a peace, ordered them to go and inform themselves, whether the sentiments of the Ætolians were the same. But in reality he was not in the least solicitous with respect to peace; but rather was inclined to pursue the course that was before him. Having received notice therefore, that Scerdilaidas infested the seas round Malea, and pillaged all the merchants; and that some even of his own vessels had been attacked in the port of Leucas in contempt of treaties, he immediately equipped twelve decked ships, eight open barks, and thirty biremes, and steered his course through the Euripus. His intention was, to surprize the Illyrians, and to give an early and effectual check to the insolence of those pirates, that he might then be able to resume with vigour the war against the Ætolians, which was still the object of his chief attention, because he was at this time ignorant of all that had passed in Italy. For while he was employed in the siege of Thebes, the Romans were defeated in Tyrrhenia by Annibal. But the news of that battle had not yet arrived in Greece.

The Illyrian barks had retired however from those seas, before the King was able to arrive. Having cast anchor therefore in the port of Cenchreæ, and ordered, that the decked ships should sail round Malea to Ægium and Patræ, he drew the rest of his vessels over the Isthmus, and commanded them to take their station in the harbour of Lechæum; while himself went from thence to Argos, together with his friends, to be present at the Nemean Games.

As he was sitting there, to behold the combats, a Courier arrived from Macedon, with the news, that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle, and that Annibal was now the master of all the open country. Philip immediately shewed his letters to Demetrius of Pharos, but to none besides; and cautioned

cautioned him to be silent. Demetrius seized the occasion, and pressed the King to put an end at once to his war against the Ætolians; that he might be able to employ all his forces to reduce Illyria, and from thence to pass afterwards into Italy. He represented to him, "that the States of Greece, as they were now well pleased to comply with all that was imposed, would be ready likewise in all future times to receive his laws, and pay an intire submission to his will: that the Achæans were by inclination strongly fixed in all his interests; and that the Ætolians, deterred by the misfortunes that had happened to them in the present war, would fear to engage in any new designs against him: that his passing into Italy would in effect be the first and most important step towards the conquest of the world: that such an enterprize belonged to none more properly than to himself: and that the time also for it was now most seasonable, in which the Romans had been defeated with so great a loss." This discourse did not fail to make a very quick and deep impression upon the King; young as he then was, and fortunate in all his projects; bold and enterprizing in his nature; and descended also from a house, whose Princes always had conceived the hope of being able to acquire the sovereignty of the world.

In a short time therefore, though he had shewn, as we have said, his letters only to Demetrius, he assembled together all his friends in Council, and demanded their opinions with respect to a peace with the Ætolians. Aratus was by no means averse to peace; for he thought that all things might be now accommodated with some advantage to themselves, because they were superior in the war. The King therefore, not expecting the return of those ambassadors who had been employed to mediate a peace, deputed to the Ætolians Cleonicus of Naupactus; who, from the time in which he first was taken, had still remained near the King, waiting for the Assembly of the Achæan States. He then left Corinth, and advanced

advanced with his fleet and army towards Ægium. And when he arrived at Lasion, that he might not shew too great an eagerness to put an end to the war, he attacked and stormed a fortress that was built upon the ruins of that city; and threatened also to make an incursion into the Elean territory. But afterwards, when Cleonicus had returned twice or thrice, and the Ætolians were earnest to obtain a personal conference, he resolved to comply with their request; and having put a stop to all hostilities, sent couriers to the cities of the allies, desiring them to depute some persons, to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then went and incamped with his army near Panormus, a port of Peloponnesus, which lies opposite to Naupactus, and there waited the arrival of the deputies. But before they were assembled, he passed over to Zacynthus, and having regulated certain matters in that island which required his presence, he returned back again to Panormus.

When the deputies arrived, the King sent away Taurion and Aratus, with some others that were present: who, when they had joined the Ætolians at Naupactus, and had seen, in one short interview, that they were earnestly inclined to peace, returned again without delay, and brought also with them some embassadors from the Ætolians, who pressed the King to pass over to them with his army, that the conferences might be held face to face, and all disputes more easily be accommodated. Philip yielded to their solicitations, and having embarked his troops, sailed over to Ætolia, and incamped at the distance of about twenty stadia from Naupactus. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp and vessels, he waited there till the conferences should begin. The Ætolians all met together, without their arms, at the distance of two stadia only from the camp, and from thence sent their deputies to the conference. The King proposed to them, by the embassadors of the allies, as the first condition of the
Peace,

Peace, that they should keep on all sides what they then possessed. To this the Ætolians readily consented. With regard to other points, there were afterwards frequent deputations and debates; the greater part of which were of such small importance, that they need not be particularly mentioned. But the Discourse, which was made by Agelaus of Naupactus, in presence of the King and of the ambassadors of the Allies, at the time of the first interview, was such as well deserves to be related.

He said then, "that it seemed to be a point of the greatest moment, that the States of Greece should now at last all resolve to lay aside their mutual wars and contests, and esteem it as the greatest happiness which the Gods could give, if they once could be induced to unite together in heart and sentiments, and taking each other by the hand, like men that are obliged to ford a dangerous stream, join all their strength to stand against the attacks of foreign enemies, and secure their cities and themselves from falling a prey to any barbarous people. That though such an union might perhaps, in all it's parts, and for any long continuance, be found impracticable, it was however highly necessary, that at least in this conjuncture they should all stand firm in one agreement, and join in common measures for the common safety. That in order to be well assured of this necessity, they might only turn their eyes upon the greatness of those armaments, that were at this time in the field, and the importance of the War in which the Powers abroad were now engaged. That all who were possessed of even a moderate portion of discernment in the affairs of policy, must be able clearly to perceive, that the conquerors in this war, whether the Carthaginians or the Romans, would never rest contented with the sovereignty of Sicily and Italy, but go on to spread wide their victories, and extend their acquisitions beyond all just and reasonable bounds. He conjured them therefore with the greatest earnestness, and

Philip

Philip above all the rest, to secure themselves in time against the impending danger. That with regard to Philip, this security might most effectually be obtained, if instead of weakening, as he had hitherto done, the strength and forces of the Greeks, he rather would regard them all as the members of his own Body, and attend to the safety of their provinces with no less vigilance and care, than if they were in truth the natural and proper parts of his own dominions. That by such a conduct the Greeks would all be fixed unalterably in his interests, and ready to assist him in his projects: and that by this attachment to him, not less weighty than sincere, all strangers would effectually be deterred from forming any designs against his kingdom. That if this Prince however was eager to be employed in action, let him turn his eyes towards the West, and observe what passed in Italy. That by a wise and diligent attention to all that now should happen in that country, he might find at last perhaps some fair occasion for opening to Himself the way to Universal Empire. That the condition of the present times seemed greatly to encourage such a hope. He pressed him therefore to lay aside all farther thoughts of contest or dissension with the Greeks; and above all things, to be careful not to lose the power of making war upon them, or of concluding peace, whenever himself should choose. For if, continued he, this Cloud, which is now seen hovering in the West, should at last settle and discharge itself upon the provinces of Greece, how greatly do I fear, that an end will be put at once both to our wars and treaties, and to all those childish contests in which we are now so wantonly engaged: and that all of us must then be forced to implore it as a blessing from the Gods, that we may be permitted to enjoy the power of taking arms against each other, and of laying them down again, as we shall judge it to be most expedient; or in a word, of settling any of our differences by our own decision."

This

This Discourse filled all the allies with a strong desire of peace. Philip especially was deeply affected by those sentiments, that were so perfectly adapted to his own designs, and to the temper into which Demetrius had already raised him. As soon therefore as they had settled the conditions, and ratified the treaty, they all returned again, with peace, to their respective countries. These events all happened in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: the defeat of the Romans in Tyrrhenia; the Battle between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria; and the conclusion of the war of Philip and the Achæans, against the Ætolians. This therefore was the time, in which the affairs of Greece were now first connected with those of Italy and Afric. For after this period, Philip and the States of Greece no longer regulated their designs, either with respect to war or peace, by the condition of their own country, but all turned their eyes to Italy, to find there the mark by which all their counsels were to be directed. The people of Asia likewise, and of the Islands, soon followed the example: and from this time, whenever they had any cause of dissension and complaint against Attalus or Philip, instead of imploring aid from Antiochus and Ptolemy, instead of paying any regard to the South and East, they on the contrary fixed their whole attention upon the West, and sometimes sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans. The Romans on the other hand deputed likewise an embassy into Greece. For as they well knew the bold and enterprizing spirit of Philip, they were filled with no small apprehensions, that this Prince would take advantage also of the times, and add a new embarrassment to the difficulties in which they already were involved.

Thus then have we shewn, agreeably to our first design, at what time, in what manner, and from what causes, the affairs of Greece were first connected with those of Italy and

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Afric.

Afric. As soon therefore as we shall have continued the transactions of the Grecian History, to the time in which the Romans were defeated in the Battle of Cannæ, and at which we broke off our relation of the war in Italy, we shall then also close this Book.

As soon as the war was ended, the Achæans chose Timoxenus for their Prætor, and, with the rest of the people of Peloponnesus, returning to their own proper laws and customs, and ordinary course of life, began to resume the care of their estates, to cultivate their lands, and to restore again the sacrifices, publick games, and all the other rites that were peculiar to their country, and which, among the greater part, had almost sunk into oblivion, through the long continuance of those wars, in which they had been successively engaged. For I know not whence it happens, that the people of Peloponnesus, who seem of all men most strongly inclined by nature to cultivate the soft arts of peace and social life, have less enjoyed those blessings, than almost any nation of the world, at least in ancient times. They rather indeed have been, as the Poet Euripides expresses it,

Vex'd with perpetual toils, and ceaseless war.

The cause however, to which this evil fortune must be ascribed, may be found also in their nature. For being passionately fond of freedom, and eager to retain the supreme command, they choose to have recourse continually to arms, rather than yield a step to any rival power. The Athenians, on the contrary, no sooner were delivered from their apprehensions of the Macedonians, than they began to be persuaded, that the freedom of their State was now securely fixed upon a firm and solid ground. Refusing therefore any more to bear a part in the affairs of Greece, and submitting themselves without reserve to the guidance of Micyon and Euryclidas, they decreed immode-

immoderate honours to all the Kings, especially to Ptolemy; and, through the indiscretion of those magistrates, consented, without restraint or shame, to every sordid act of flattery, and carried their adulation to so great excess, that it exceeded even all the bounds of decency.

Not long after this time, Ptolemy was engaged in war against the people of his own kingdom. In arming the Egyptians for the war against Antiochus, he had acted wisely indeed with respect to the present times: but with regard to the future, this measure was attended with most pernicious consequences. For the people, elated by the victory which they had gained at Raphia, began to reject with haughtiness the orders of the King: and being persuaded that they had strength sufficient to regain their liberty, they now waited only for a Chief, to go before them in the attempt which they already had concerted, and which not long afterwards was carried into execution.

Antiochus, having made great preparations during the winter, as soon as the summer approached passed beyond mount Taurus, entered into an alliance with King Attalus, and began his war against Achæus.

The Ætolians were at first well pleased, that they had put an end to a war, which had proved so contrary to all their hopes. They chose therefore for their Prætor Agelaus of Naupactus, by whose zeal and pains the peace had chiefly been concluded. Yet scarcely any time had passed, when they fell again into discontent and murmurs, and threw out bitter reproaches against this Magistrate; who, by having made the peace not with any single people, but with all the States of Greece, had cut off at once all the means of plunder to which they had been accustomed, and had left them destitute of every hope. But Agelaus supported their unjust complaints with so great firmness, that he restrained the madness of their

inclinations, and forced them, even against their nature, to be quiet.

King Philip, after the conclusion of the peace, returned by sea to Macedon: and being informed that Scerdilaidas, using still the same pretence, upon which he had before surprized some vessels at Leucas, had now pillaged a little town of Pelagonia, called Pissæum; and in Dassaretis, had received upon terms of treaty the cities of Phæbatis, Antipatria, Chrysondion, and Gertuns; and that he had ravaged a considerable part of Macedon, which lay upon the confines of these cities; he immediately began his march with a body of forces, in order to recover again these places, and to give, if possible, an intire defeat to Scerdilaidas. For he judged it to be above all things necessary, that he should first firmly settle the affairs of Illyria, and by that means obtain full leisure to pursue without restraint his other projects, and especially his expedition into Italy. For this design was so continually pressed upon him by Demetrius, that it not only filled his mind all day, but even by night became the subject of his dreams. This earnestness however, with which Demetrius thus urged the King to transport his forces into Italy, by no means sprung from any desire to advance the interests of Philip: though this perhaps might be admitted as a third consideration in his mind. But as on the one hand he was himself inflamed with a strong and inveterate hatred against the Romans, so he was persuaded also on the other hand, that, if this project should be carried into execution, he should be able to recover again the sovereignty which he had lost in Pharos. Philip then, advancing with his army, regained the cities that were just now mentioned: and having taken also in Dassaretis, Creonium and Geruns: upon the lake Lychnidia, Enchelana, Cerax, Station, and Boii; in the district of the Calicœnians, Bantia; and in that of the Pyssantines, Orgysus; he then sent his army into winter quarters.

This

This was the winter, in which Annibal, having ravaged all the noblest parts of Italy, fixed his camp near Gerunium in Daunia; and in which the Romans also chose for Consuls, Caius Terentius, and Æmilius.

The King, while he remained in winter quarters, reflected with himself, that, in order more effectually to advance his projects, it would be necessary to provide a naval armament, completely equipped: not with design to carry on the war by sea against the Romans, which he could scarcely hope to do with any kind of advantage or success; but that he might be able to transport his forces from place to place, as occasion should demand, and fall upon the enemy before they could be informed of his approach. And as the vessels that were at this time used among the Illyrians seemed most proper for this purpose, he resolved to build upon that model a hundred Barks; and was the first indeed of all the kings of Macedon, that ever had engaged in such an undertaking. When the vessels were all finished and equipped, and the summer began also to approach, he drew together his forces; and having employed a little time, to instruct the Macedonians in the exercise of the oar, he sailed out to sea, about the time in which Antiochus passed beyond mount Taurus: and steering his course through the Euripus, and round the promontory Malea, he arrived near the islands Cephallenia and Leucas, and waited at anchor there, attending to the motions of the Roman fleet. And when he was informed, that some of their vessels, which had directed their course to Lilybæum, remained still at anchor in that port, he again sailed out to sea, and advanced with confidence as far as to the coast of Apollonia. But as he approached the mouth of the river Lous, which flows through that part of the country, a Panic Terror, not unlike to those which are sometimes seen in the armies upon land, ran suddenly through all the fleet. For some barks that had sailed in the rear of all the rest, and had cast anchor
near

near the island Sason, at the entrance of the Ionian sea, came by night to Philip, and informed him, that certain vessels, arriving from the Straits, had joined them near that island, and acquainted them, that they had left at Rhegium some Roman Quinqueremes, which were sailing towards Apollonia, to assist Scerdilaidas. Philip therefore, being apprehensive that this fleet was just ready to appear in sight, immediately weighed anchor, and directed his course back again with the greatest haste. And when he had continued his flight, both by night and day, without any intermission, he arrived again on the second day at Cephallenia; and having in some degree resumed his courage, he cast anchor there, and pretended, that some affairs in Peloponnesus had forced him to return.

But these fears were found at last to be intirely false and groundless. It was true indeed, that Scerdilaidas, having been informed that Philip had equipped a naval armament, and not doubting but that this Prince would soon arrive by sea, and renew the war against him, had implored some succours from the Romans; who sent accordingly to his assistance ten vessels, from the fleet which lay at Lilybæum: and these were the ships, that had been seen at Rhegium. But if Philip, instead of being hurried into a rash and inconsiderate flight, had waited the arrival of these vessels, he not only must have gained an easy victory against them, but might also have obtained a most fair occasion for reducing all Illyria. For the great progress and success of Annibal, with the battle which had been fought but just before at Cannæ, engaged at this time all the attention of the Romans. But the King, being struck, as we have said, by vain and senseless apprehensions, returned again with disgrace to Macedon, though not with any loss.

About this time also, a very memorable exploit was performed by Prusias. The Gauls, who, on account of the high
fame

fame which they had gained in arms, had been brought by Attalus from Europe, to assist him in his war against Achæus, having left the service of that Prince in the manner which we before have mentioned, committed horrid outrages and devastations in many of the cities of the Hellespont, and at last laid siege to Ilium. But the people of Alexandria in Troas sent against them four thousand men under the conduct of Themistes, and forced them to raise the siege. And having intercepted likewise their provisions, and defeated them in every project, they at last constrained them to abandon all the province. Being thus driven from Troas, they then seized Arisba in the Abydenian district; and from thence making their incursions, pillaged and insulted all the cities that were near. Prusias therefore led an army against them into the field, and engaged them in set battle. The men were all destroyed in the action: their wives and children slaughtered in the camp: and their baggage left a prey to the conquerors. By this great victory, the cities of the Hellespont were at once delivered from their fears: and the Barbarians of Europe also were instructed for the time to come, not rashly to engage in the design of passing into Asia.

Such then was the condition of affairs in Asia, and in Greece. In Italy, after the defeat at Cannæ, the greater part of the neighbouring people joined themselves to the Carthaginians, as we have already mentioned. But as we have now completed our relation of those transactions that happened in the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, we shall here close this Book: and in that which follows, after a short and summary review of the events that have already been related, we shall go on, agreeably to our design and promise, to describe the form and constitution of the Roman Government.

ERRORS of the Press.

Page 2. line 15. *dele a.*

- 18. l. 5. *this, read his.*
- 67. l. 21. *transacting, r. transacted.*
- 69. l. 33. *dele they.*
- 163. l. 8. *Caphya, r. Caphyæ.*
- 247. l. 18. *after Annibal, insert, with one half of the troops.*
- 355. l. 15. *those, r. these.*
- 464. l. 4. *figure, r. form.*

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